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THE

BRITISH REVIEW,

AND

LONDON CRITICAL JOURNAL.

“—FIAT JUSTITIA.—”

VOL. XXIII.

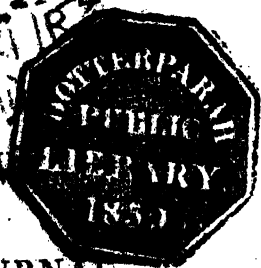
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THE
BRITISH REVIEW



AND LONDON CRITICAL JOURNAL.

MAY, 1825.

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VII.—SOUTH AMERICAN STATES.

1. *Travels in South America*; containing an account of the Present State of Brazil, Buenos Ayres, and Chile: By Alexander Caldeleugh, Esq. Two vols. 8vo. Murray.
2. *Notes on Mexico*, made in the autumn of 1822; accompanied by a Historical Sketch of the Revolution, and Translations of Official Reports on the Present State of that Country: By J. R. Poinsett, Esq., Member of the Congress of the United States. 8vo. Miller.
3. *The Modern Traveller*; Parts VII. VIII. IX. X. Brazil and Buenos Ayres. 18mo. Duncan.

THE modifications of self-love present a variety which may without much exaggeration be called endless. One exhibition of it, which is neither uncommon nor perhaps very blameable, is the habit of considering our own times, our own country, our own contemporaries, as the most remarkable which have been known to history. *Our* discoveries, *our* victories, *our* wealth, and *our* morals, are constantly said to eclipse those of all other times, and of every other people. Even interpreters of prophecy are not unfrequently found falling into the same error. It is commonly taken for granted that neither Daniel nor St. John could fail to give an especial place, in their predictions, to events so unparalleled as those *we* have been concerned in, nor is it allowable to doubt that Bonaparte is somewhere or other to be found in their prophecies. How much of their predictions relates to ourselves, and which of the characters of the apocalypse belongs to the late usurper, is

confessed to be a fair ground of dispute; but it is not to be questioned that *such* times, and *such* a man must have been foretold somewhere. One circumstance, however, seems to be very much overlooked in this matter. And that is, that after all the protracted bloodshed and struggles of the last thirty years, very little, if any, substantial change has been effected, which might not have been expected to have taken place without that struggle and that bloodshed. Grant, that we have had to contend for our very existence—have been wonderfully supported—and have come out of the contest a more powerful and prosperous and improving nation than we previously appeared to be. Grant, that Europe generally, after a long and grievous oppression, has succeeded in breaking the yoke, and overthrowing the most extended tyranny of modern times. Let all this, and ten times more be conceded, as it must be—but still, what is the *result*—what has been gained on the whole? What, but the satisfaction of finding ourselves, and the world at large, very nearly in *statu quo*;—improved, indeed, it is to be hoped, under divine correction, but certainly neither very great gainers, nor losers, by our long and surprising exertions. None of the continental dynasties have been changed, none of the great obstacles to the progress of true Christianity removed. Antichrist, if Popery be Antichrist, still domineers over the greater part of Europe, and the false prophet still holds sway over the most interesting provinces of Asia.

But while the triumph of our self-love over our judgment is thus conspicuous, in regarding as so pre-eminently important, a war productive of no result beyond mere self-preservation, it is almost forgotten that there has been taking place, of late years, a most important and desirable change, in a part of the world towards which we have been accustomed to look with very little interest beyond that excited by commercial cupidity. And yet this change is most truly and immensely important, both as it respects the vast extent of country over which it has been simultaneously effected—the various and incalculable capabilities of the regenerated States—the splendid results which may be expected to arise from the employment of British capital and talent in this new field—or the apparent completeness of the renovation, and the moderate and temperate spirit which has marked its progress.

Not one State merely, but a whole cluster of new powers, have been added to our maps. That vast continent which so lately presented nothing to the view but different combinations of superstition and slavery, bigotry and vice, is now covered with societies of free men, busily occupied in casting off the mental fetters in which they have so long been

enslaved, and in seeking to be raised to a level with their northern and elder brethren. And doubtless the light of human knowledge and the spirit of freedom cannot be diffused among them, without exciting a thirst for instruction in other, and higher, and more important subjects.

What has induced or supported among us so long, a spirit, we might almost say, of indifference to these great and happy events, which have been for years passing before our eyes? Why has the only feeling which has made itself audible among us, been a feeling of low commercial impatience to be making our speediest advantage of them? Why has our tone, as far as regarded the men engaged in the struggle, been nearly that of the satirist,

But as for some few million souls

Enslav'd or franchis'd,—bless the clods!

If half were strangled, Spaniards, Poles,

Or Frenchmen, 'twouldn't make much odds.

We think we can detect in all this, a manifestation of party spirit which has not often been, and yet which deserves to be, dragged forth to light, and forcibly put to shame.

Let it then be plainly avowed, that we hold much of this unfriendly and apathetic feeling to arise from one circumstance connected with the establishment of the new South American States, which has certainly had a strong tendency to excite such a feeling among a very large and enlightened portion of the British public. We allude to the form of government which has generally been adopted among them. It is not problematical, it cannot be disputed, that the republican system, which has been so universally acceded to by them, is an object of very extensive dislike and suspicion among Englishmen. And this one supposed fault or error has sufficed to neutralize, if not to alienate, the minds of a large part of the English people.

And while we are alluding to this subject, it is impossible to be wholly silent respecting the encouragement which has been given to these absurd prejudices, by the two most influential journals of this country, the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly Reviews*. Not, perhaps, indeed, so much by their line of conduct with respect to the new South American Republics, as by their constant perversion of reason and common sense, in the question of the real state and prospects of the North American United States. Every one can see the close connexion of the two subjects, and the natural influence which opinions imbibed on the one, must necessarily have upon the other.

It is a matter of perfect notoriety, that the *Quarterly Review* has constantly been accustomed to speak of the United States

in a tone of evident dislike and disgust. No opportunity has been lost of heaping ridicule and contempt upon their manners, their customs, their laws—and, above all, and as the source of all, their system of self-government. We need not trouble our readers with proofs of what is universally seen and known; nor need we offer to explain what every one sees, that a deep dislike of republicanism is the real ground of this active enmity.

The decided part taken by the *Edinburgh Review*, on the opposite side of the question, is equally well understood. Their frequent and distinct marks of preference and attachment for the American system, have not been lost on the public, although the journal has probably suffered by them much more than republicanism has gained. On American literature, American manners, and American self-conceit, they have not been sparing of their strictures, while nothing but the most unqualified approbation has ever been given to the form of government supported by our transatlantic brethren.

The ground, as far as we can understand it, which is taken respectively by these two public oracles, is this—That, with the one, republican form of government is so entirely vicious in principle, that it is a fit object of dislike wherever, and under whatever circumstances, it may be established:—and that, with the other, Republicanism, as established in North America, is so admirable as to demand a preference over our own constitution. If these are not the fundamental points of all the reasoning of our two contemporaries on this subject, we must confess ourselves unable to understand their drift or meaning. And yet these positions are each so entirely unphilosophical, so exceedingly puerile, that we hesitate and stand perplexed, how any man can be found in the nineteenth century to make them the ground of a course of argument and political discussion.

It seems to be equally taken for granted, by both these classes of writers, that there either exists, or might easily be contrived, some admirable form of government (on paper) which would adapt itself, with semi-miraculous ductility, to all possible circumstances of all possible societies of men. Such a form, in short, as would equally suit a poor nation or a rich one, *a mountainous and thinly peopled district, or another Egypt with its thirty thousand cities*—a released colony of labouring agriculturists, or a nation in its tenth century, grown old in feudal prejudices. Would it be at all a greater absurdity to argue that the diet and habits of man in his maturity must be equally suitable to man in his infancy, and that turtle and champagne would be admirable food for our children.

These politicians seem to have forgotten, if they ever learnt, that monarchy is never really valuable to a people, as monarchy, any more than republicanism possesses any intrinsic merits merely as republicanism. Both must be estimated and compared in every distinct case, not on the ground of any fancied and theoretic merits, but on their greater or less adaptation to the peculiar circumstances of the people adopting either the one or the other. In most cases it is scarcely a matter of choice. Often a republican form is the only one which *can* be framed, and as often is a republic *impossible*.

And it is from losing sight of these facts that so many errors and absurd prejudices arise. It is not the Quarterly Review alone, there are many worthy individuals among us at the present moment who nourish a latent enmity against the United States, merely because they are republican. Now, saying nothing in defence of their separation from this country still, having separated, can any one shew us what other form of government it was in their power to establish? Some one may say, "an Aristocracy, or a Monarchy"—and the objector will shew about as much knowledge of the matter as Oliver Goldsmith, who tells us, that—

"Princes and Lords may flourish and may fade,
A breath can make them, as a breath hath made,"

forgetting that, though what is created by a word can be by a word destroyed; this is not exactly the character of an aristocracy,—to raise or to remove which, is the work of centuries. North America has not, to this hour, an aristocracy, but she will one day have it. And when this powerful class has become rooted in the state, its influence will speedily be felt, and the government will naturally fall into its hands, until from among the most powerful of its members, one arises to grasp the sceptre. This is the natural course of things; this is the usual progress of states, which can neither be materially accelerated or retarded. And those who would quarrel with America because she has not yet grown into a monarchy, may without much greater absurdity lament that they have not yet a noble oak from an acorn of the present century.

But this folly is harmless, it is even praiseworthy, when compared with the dreams of the supporters of the opposite error. There are those who evidently wish and openly profess their wish, to see this country closely assimilated, in all its forms and institutions, to the model of our transatlantic neighbours. A king they seem merely to be unable to understand the use of, but for a powerful aristocracy, they have an unmingled hatred. It is a scriptural comparison, and it is a most apt one, which we have employed in likening monarchy to the

first of forest trees. And a real and influential aristocracy may, by an extension of it, be well likened to a forest. It is not to be raised without long patience, but when the trees are matured, and have struck far and wide their roots, it is no easy matter to remove them. Nothing but the axe and the torch will suffice for this. And if it is a silly complaint, that there are no Dukes of Northumberland or Lord Grosvenors in America, it is a worse than foolish wish, that we could get rid of our Dukes of Northumberland and Lord Grosvenors here. It is worse than foolish, because nothing but the axe and the torch would suffice for this. To make America what England is, as some would wish, there is but one way—a patient waiting upon the natural course of events. To make England what America is, as others would wish, there is also but one way—to burn and destroy, to tear up and pluck down, to pass the ploughshare of destruction over the face of the country.

We cannot therefore but hope that these childish prejudices will rapidly die away, and that men of sense will cease to cherish an hidden wish for new Iturbides and Christophes in the infant states. In a community of equals it would be difficult to shew the title of any one to superiority; and, as one great necessity of a monarch in more ancient states arises from the want of a control over the aristocracy, so where no aristocracy exists, this necessity is unknown: while the natural supports of the throne being wanting, it must constantly be exposed to the full force of every convulsion which can agitate the state.

A few words from the pen of Burke will aptly conclude this part of the subject. They occur in his "Appeal from the new to the old Whigs."—He there says of himself—"He has never professed himself a friend or an enemy to republics, or to monarchies, in the abstract. *He thought that the circumstances and habits of every country, which it is always perilous and productive of the greatest calamities to force, are to decide upon the form of its government.* There is nothing in his nature, his temper, or his faculties, which should make him an enemy to any republic modern or ancient. Far from it. He has studied the form and spirit of republics very early in life; he has studied them with great attention; and with a mind undisturbed by affection or prejudice. He is indeed convinced that the science of government would be poorly cultivated without that study. But the result in his mind from that investigation has been, and is, that neither England nor France, without infinite detriment to them, as well in the event as in the experiment, could be brought into a republican form,"

But it is time that we advert to the works which are before us. Mr. Caldeleugh's "Account of the present state of Brazil, Buenos Ayres, and Chile," is a succinct and useful narrative of what came under the author's observation, in the course of a tour of almost two years over those countries. Passing over so large an extent of territory, and spending no considerable length of time at any place, it is not to be expected that he can comprise within six hundred pages any very satisfactory historical retrospects, or any geographical or statistical researches of much moment.

Captain Hall had conducted us to the western and northern coasts of the South American continent, and Mr. Caldeleugh nearly completes the survey, by adding to it Brazil and Buenos Ayres. We cannot speak of the latter work as equalling in interest the former; but in one point, that of graphic illustration, it has the advantage, Captain Hall's work being entirely deficient in that respect.

Mr. Poinsett's volume contains much valuable and interesting information. The author is a member of the Congress of the United States; and, having devoted his attention to Mexico only, and been, apparently, less rapid in his movements than our countrymen above mentioned,—he gives us far more complete details of the real state and prospects of that country, than could be expected in the rapid sketches *they* were able to attempt. From his pages we shall transcribe a few passages, which may give our readers some general ideas of the present state of the Mexican people and government.

"Our large cities are many of them neater than Mexico, but there is an appearance of solidity in the houses, and an air of grandeur in the aspect of this place, which are wanting in the cities of the United States. With us, however, a stranger does not see that striking and disgusting contrast between the magnificence of the wealthy, and the squalid penury of the poor, which constantly meets his view in Mexico. I have described the palaces of the rich: the abode of poverty does not offend the eye; it is beneath the church porches, in miserable barracks in the suburbs, or under the canopy of heaven. There are at least twenty thousand inhabitants of this capital, the population of which does not exceed one hundred and fifty thousand souls, who have no permanent place of abode, and no ostensible means of gaining a livelihood. After passing the night sometimes under cover, sometimes in the open air, they issue forth in the morning like drones to prey upon the community, to beg, to steal, and in the last resort to work. If they are fortunate enough to gain more than they require to maintain themselves for a day, they go to the pulquería, and there dance, carouse, and get drunk on pulque and *vino mezcal*, a brandy distilled from the fermented juice of the agave. Around and under the pulquerías, which are open sheds covering a space of from fifty to

a hundred feet, men and women may be seen in the evening, stretched on the ground, sleeping off the effects of their deep potations. These people, called by Humboldt, *saragates*, and *guachinangos*, are more generally known by the name of *leperos*. They are, for the most part, Indians and Mestizos, lively and extremely civil, asking alms with great humility, and pouring out prayers and blessings with astonishing volubility. They are most dexterous pickpockets, and I heard of some instances of their sleight of hand, that surpass the happiest efforts of the light-fingered gentry of Paris or London.

"From what I have said of the *leperos* of Mexico, you will compare them to the *lazaroni* of Naples. The comparison will be favourable to the latter, who work more readily, steal less frequently, and are sober.

"We walked through the market-place, and I was surprised to see it so well furnished. The markets of Philadelphia and New York display butchers' meat in greater quantity, and generally of better quality, but here we saw game in abundance. Wild ducks, birds of various sorts, venison and hares, and the profusion and variety of fruits and vegetables were greater than I had seen in any market in Europe or America. The following are the prices of some articles, and what I understood to be the usual rates: beef, twenty-eight ounces, twelve and a half cents; mutton and veal, twelve and a half cents per pound; eggs, twenty-five cents a dozen; fish from the lakes, about nine or ten inches long, one dollar per pound; fowls, from fifty to seventy-five cents a pair; pigeons, twenty-five cents a pair; turkeys, from seventy-five cents to a dollar each; peaches, fifty cents a dozen; pears, seventy-five cents; the tuna (fruit of the cactus) twenty-five cents; alligator pears, fifty cents; oranges, thirty-three and three-fourths; mameis, thirty-three and three-fourths; grapes, thirty-three and three-fourths cents a pound; pine-apples, twelve and a half cents each.

"The fruits of the tropics are raised a short distance from the city; and the vegetables and fruits of Europe are cultivated on the borders of the lakes Xochimilco and Chalco, by the Indians, who bring them to market in canoes ornamented with flowers. The stalls are set out with flowers, which are in great demand by all classes, to adorn the shrine of some saint, the patron of the house, or to grace a festival. The market is filled with stalls, and the paths through it are very narrow, and obstructed by a crowd of leperos, whom I was cautioned not to touch, for their blankets swarm with vermin. The streets surrounding the market are filled with earthenware for cooking, and other domestic purposes. The Indians every where make earthen pots very neatly, and the people here use them instead of iron or copper vessels." (P. 68.)

"We next visited the university, where there is a small collection of books; the building is very spacious, and the institution well endowed; but at present there are very few students. The professors politely showed us the chapel, and whatever we wished to see, except the idol spoken of by Humboldt, as having been discovered at the

same time with the calendar and altar. They pointed out the place where it is buried, under the portico, and we saw only the hands or claws. The clergy thought it necessary to put out of sight of the Indians, all those objects which might recall their ancient idolatry, and this idol was buried immediately after its discovery. Humboldt obtained an order to have it dug up for his examination; but I refer you to his researches for a description of it.

"This university was founded, 1551. It is under the government of a rector, who accompanied us in our visit to the different apartments of the building. There have been as many as two hundred students at a time, but the number is now very much diminished. Besides this university, there are inferior colleges, and several large schools, under the direction of the regular clergy. Most of the people in the cities can read and write. I would not be understood as including the *leperos*; but I have frequently remarked men, clothed in the garb of extreme poverty, reading the Gazettes in the streets: of these there are three published every other day in the week, which are sold for twelve and a half cents apiece; and pamphlets and loose sheets are hawked about and sold at a reasonable rate. There are several booksellers' shops, which are but scantily supplied with books. The booksellers have hitherto laboured under all the disadvantages of the prohibitory system of the Catholic church, but are now endeavouring to furnish themselves with the best modern works. The few books to be found in the shops are extravagantly dear. There are several valuable private libraries; and many Creole gentlemen, who have visited Europe, have a taste both for literature and the fine arts. This is certainly more rare among those who have never been out of their own country. The means of education were more limited; and under the colonial system, liberal studies were discouraged. The Latin language, law, theology, and philosophy, were taught in the colleges, and only so much of the latter as the clergy thought might be taught with safety. To give you some idea of the influence of this class in the city of Mexico, I will merely observe that there are five hundred and fifty secular, and sixteen hundred and forty-six regular clergy.

"Humboldt says, that, in the twenty-three convents of monks in the capital, there are twelve hundred individuals, of whom five hundred and eighty are priests and choristers; and in the fifteen convents of nuns, there are two thousand one hundred individuals, of whom about nine hundred are professed nuns. In all New Spain, the regular and secular clergy have been estimated at fourteen thousand. As a body they possess great wealth, but their salaries are very unequal."—(Pp. 111—113.)

"The titled nobility are white Creoles, who, satisfied with the enjoyment of large estates, and with the consideration which their rank and wealth confer, seek no other distinction. They are not remarkable for their attainments, or for the strictness of their morals. The lawyers, who, in fact, exercise much more influence over the people, rank next to the nobles. They are the younger branches of noble houses, or the sons of Europeans, and are remarkably shrewd and intelligent.

Next in importance are the merchants and shopkeepers; for the former are not sufficiently numerous to form a separate class. They are wealthy, and might possess influence, but have hitherto taken little part in the politics of the country—most probably from the fear of losing their property, which is in a tangible shape. The labouring class in the cities and towns includes all castes and colours; they are industrious and orderly, and view with interest what is passing around them. Most of them read; and, in the large cities, papers and pamphlets are hawked about the street, and sold at a cheap rate to the people. The labouring class in the country is composed, in the same manner, of different castes. They are sober, industrious, docile, ignorant, and superstitious; and may be led by their priests, or masters, to good or evil. Their apathy has in some measure been overcome by the long struggle for independence, in which most of them bore a part; but they are still under the influence and direction of the priests. They are merely labourers, without any property in the soil; and cannot be expected to feel much interest in the preservation of civil rights, which so little concern them. The last class, unknown as such in a well regulated society, consists of beggars and idlers,—drones that prey upon the community, and who, having nothing to lose, are always ready to swell the cry of popular ferment, or to lend their aid in favour of imperial tyranny. The influence of this class, where it is numerous, upon the fate of revolutions, has always been destructive to liberty. In France they were very numerous; and the atrocities which disgraced that revolution, are, in a great measure, to be ascribed to this cause. In Mexico these people have been kept in subjection by the strong arm of the viceregal government; but it is to be feared, that they will henceforward be found the ready tool of every faction. The priests exercise unbounded influence over the higher and lower orders in Mexico; and, with a few honourable exceptions, are adverse to civil liberty. It may not, perhaps, be altogether correct to consider the influence of the clergy as confined exclusively to the upper and lower orders of society, but, certainly, a very large proportion of the middle class are exempt from it. Unfortunately, too many, who were educated in the forms of the Catholic church, have emancipated themselves from its superstitions only to become sceptics and infidels. (Pp. 162—164.)

The demand for information on the state of this vast continent has latterly been rapidly increasing. Our merchants naturally seek for such knowledge as may save them the ill consequences which have repeatedly followed from an over supply of the South American markets. They want to understand fully the natural wants of the people and the capabilities of the country. Our plethoric capitalists are pouring forth some of their abundant wealth, in hope, we suppose, to draw from the mines of Mexico and Peru, a tenfold supply of that for which they are even now unable to find sufficient employment.—And, we hope and believe we may add,—our Christian philantthro-

pists are beginning to turn their attention especially to these enfranchised states, with the hope of assisting them in throwing off the still remaining chains of ignorance and superstition.

This demand has been more than answered. The press at this moment is pouring forth an abundance of volumes on South America, and the danger seems to be, that of perplexity as to those which are genuine and really useful. And on this ground we cannot but especially recommend the small but truly valuable work which stands last on our list. The plan of the *Modern Traveller* is good, but it is particularly useful in this instance. We have, in two small volumes, at the price of half a sovereign—the leading facts of the volumes of Southey, Henderson, Luccock, Maria Graham, Prince Maximilian, Mawe, Lindley, Voster, Von Spix and Von Martius, Beaumelle, and Beauchamp; on Brazil:—and of Wilcocks, Brackenridge, Gillespie, and Rodney and Graham; on Buenos Ayres. And the whole is digested and condensed in a style which is admirably adapted to the task. The writer evidently takes a deep interest in the subjects on which his pen is employed, and therefore naturally excites a corresponding feeling in the mind of the reader. We are sorry we can only afford room for one quotation, which is the conclusion of his account of the empire of Brazil.

“Here we bring to a close our account, necessarily imperfect, of the empire of Brazil. The wish not to exceed the limits originally proposed to ourselves, has compelled us to omit many details relating to the various tribes of aborigines; but a future opportunity will present itself of taking, with more advantage, a general and comparative view of their respective physiological and moral characteristics. What further political changes the empire may undergo, is a matter of trifling moment, compared with the progress of that wonderful social revolution, which has converted the swamps and forests of the wild hunter into rich pastures, and cultured plains, and busy villages. It is curious to retrace the steps of this process. The Paulistas were the pioneers, who first broke and fought their way into the innermost recesses of the continent, hunting not for food, for pleasure, or for gold, but for men—for slaves. The discovery of the mines awakened a new passion; and to the mania of gold-hunting we may certainly ascribe the colonization of three-fourths of the interior, as well as the little trade which existed up to the close of the last century. In the mean time, the Jesuits were extending the boundaries of civilized society, and laying the foundations of a future nation. Whatever ulterior views the heads of the order may have entertained, their policy was in this instance most beneficent; and, compared with either the other monastic orders, or with the Spanish and Portuguese conquerors of America, they appear in the light of heroic and disinterested philanthropists. When we consider, however, how little, after all, was the knowledge which they communicated to their converts, how very

nearly allied to heathenism was the Christianity they taught, and how their system would have condemned their subjects to perpetual childhood,—we need not deeply regret the overthrow of the singular and formidable hierocracy which they were silently erecting. Bonaparte did more for Brazil, although unintentionally, and by an act of unprovoked aggression, when his troops entered Lisbon, than all that the Jesuits were able to accomplish. From that moment it virtually ceased to be a colony, and with the opening of its ports, a thousand avenues were thrown open to civilization. When the Jesuits fell, as, at the death of a magician, all his spells are said to be reversed, all his enchantments are broken, so the effects of their labours melted away, and have left few traces behind. They built upon the sand. The new ideas, new wants, new stimulants to industry, which commerce introduces, have a permanent influence on society. When the Indians were taught to cultivate mandioca and *matte*, an important step was taken, because it was a first step from barbarism; but, without the stimulus of commerce, industry soon languishes, invention is at a stand, and civilization seldom advances beyond its infant state. To the merchants of Great Britain, Brazil is chiefly indebted for its growing importance and rapidly extending population. From on board an English man of war the country received its sovereign; to the bravery of a gallant English admiral its emperor is indebted for the present security of the northern part of his dominions; to the high example of England, it owes its constitutional freedom; what remains but that the moral influence of the laws and religion of England should extend itself over this fairest portion of the western hemisphere?" (Pp. 298—300.)

ART. VIII.—*Hebrew Dictionary and Grammar without points*, together with a complete list of such Chaldee words as occur in the Old Testament, and a brief Sketch of Chaldee Grammar; to which is added a new, correct, and interesting account of Scripture Chronology, &c., with several useful tables of chronology, &c.: By James Andrew, LL. D. F. R. S. London: Ogle, Duncan, and Co. 1823. 8vo. Pp. xvi. and 200.

LIKE most books, which undertake many things at once, this dictionary, grammar, and collection of tables will not satisfy the purpose for which it was designed. It aims to simplify and abridge the information necessary to a scholar, and it consequently leaves him

- in things that most concern
Unpractis'd, unprepar'd, and still to seek.

It will perhaps be urged by the author, that his book was not intended for scholars, but for ordinary readers of the bible,

to whom some knowledge of the original may be desirable. That we may not misrepresent him, we transcribe his own statement of the use which he wishes to be made of his work.

“ With the help of a good translation, interlined or interleaved (if it can be procured) with the Hebrew text, and the constant use of the following compendious dictionary and grammar, the diligent and attentive scholar, by devoting two hours a day to the study of the Hebrew Bible, will, or may, be able to translate the whole with tolerable ease in less than twelve months.” (P. xi.)

“ To multiply the meanings of words according to the parts of speech in English for which they may stand, is both tedious and unnecessary. Larger Dictionaries, as those of Parkhurst, Robertson, Buxtorf, and Pagninus, which devote paragraphs to the illustration of all the meanings and appearances of each word, come into more convenient use when at an advanced period we are drawn by curiosity to inquire critically into the force and meaning of a particular word on a particular occasion : but the common use of such prolix works is certainly tedious and discouraging to a beginner.” (P. xi.)

Now we are of opinion, that such compendious methods of learning, are far from being favourable to the progress of real knowledge. The scholar, who understands no other rules of construction than are here afforded, will be encouraged to pass hasty judgments upon interpretations, which he is not competent to decide, and to settle a controversy to his own satisfaction, long before he possesses that substantial acquaintance with the language, its idioms, and its usages, which is necessary to qualify him for giving satisfaction to any one else. Nor can it be denied, that, if this be the tendency of the book itself, or rather of the plan, on which it is constructed, the following advice is calculated to give to that tendency additional force.

“ The hardest parts of the Bible, or those which contain the greatest variety of expression, such as the books or writings of David, Solomon, Job, and Isaiah, should be the first objects of our study ; after which, the historical books and remaining prophets will be read with no kind of difficulty.” (P. xi.)

But, to present our readers with a more precise summary of the contents of the volume, it begins with a preface, filled with general and ill-digested remarks on the origin of language, the confusion of tongues, the masorétic punctuation, the nature and use of infinitives, participles, gerunds, and supines, the benefit of translations, and the advantages attending a knowledge of Hebrew. On the peculiar structure of this language the author says—

“ The Hebrew is a truly philosophical language, applicable to

natural objects, and to spiritual uses, without any waste of dead letters or sounds in its etymology." (P. xii.)

"Of all languages the most ancient, pure, and simple is the Hebrew, which lends to many and borrows from none. Both sacred history and the nature of the language concur in establishing this point; for it is clear from the Bible that Hebrew was the language of all mankind from the creation of the world until the confusion of tongues at Babel; and it is equally certain that the genius and idiom of the Hebrew are peculiar and highly philosophical." (P. v.)

"Hebrew was the language of Adam, Methuselah, Shem, Abraham, and all the intervening patriarchs for two thousand years, and it continued to be the national language of the posterity of Abraham in the land of promise until the destruction of Jerusalem, A. M. 4287, at which time, or soon after, it became a dead language understood only by the learned, and spoken or written by very few, and with no great purity." (Pp. v. vi.)

Now all these are *gratis dicta*, and completely out of place in an elementary treatise of grammar. What is meant by this unalterable identity and purity of the Hebrew language during four thousand years? That the common language of Job, of Malachi, and of Josephus was the same? If the author can overthrow the long settled judgment of the learned upon this point, let him attempt it! But it does not become him dogmatically to assert what has long been considered contrary to facts, and what indeed is notoriously opposed to the commonest observation. Indeed the book of Job, to which Dr. Andrew particularly adverts, bears some internal marks at variance with the hypothesis of the original language of Adam having passed unaltered to Moses. There are more words in it, which are used no where else, than in any other book in the Bible; and, as it contains acknowledged peculiarities of Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic, the conjecture would not be unreasonable, that it was written in the aboriginal language, which was spoken before these three dialects had branched off from it. We conceive therefore, that the author's assertion, that

"Hebrew was the language of Adam, Methuselah, Shem, Abraham, and all the intervening patriarchs for two thousand years," (P. v.) cannot be sustained in the sense which his words would naturally convey. That language probably underwent alterations, like all other tongues; and, though it still retained many of the roots, which belonged to the primeval language, and was thus fitted to explain the names given by Adam to his wife and sons, better than any other dialect, now extant; the name of Adam himself is so far from finding any satisfactory etymology in the remains of that language, that it rather in-

icates the intervention of changes before the time of Moses; such as ordinarily happen to languages, in which few written works have appeared, to fix a definite standard.

The same crudeness of remark, which we have above noticed in reference to language, attaches also to the following observations in chronology.

"Soon after the final destruction of the city and temple of Jerusalem by the Romans, it would appear that the most valuable records of antiquity were diligently sought for and destroyed, and that new and false records were substituted for them, both by Jews and Christians—certainly of a degenerate cast. The former wished it to be believed that the promised Messiah was not yet come; the latter, that the end of the world was near at hand, and the *millenium* about to commence. The former contracted the age of the world, to suit their worldly pride and expectations; the latter extended it, to serve their vast desire of wealth, which flowed in largely upon them, through the boundless benefactions of devotees, who were persuaded that the day of judgment was just approaching. And as our Saviour was crucified between two thieves, so the true chronology of the Bible has been lost between the rival pretensions of opposite and contending factions." (P. xiv.)

The concluding witticism, which however is not original, seems the only motive for drawing the contrast which precedes it, and which casts reflections on the integrity of the primitive Christians, not warranted by history.

The chronology of the author is remarkable for the following peculiarities.

First he lengthens the ages before Christ thus :

"From the creation of the world to the birth of Christ were 4215½ years. Usher says 4000 years; Josephus makes the time to have been 4102 years, and Philo Judæus 5195; the modern Jews 3760.

| <i>The principal periods are,</i> | <i>Years.</i> | <i>Errors in Usher.</i> |
|-----------------------------------|---------------|-------------------------|
| 1. To the Flood | 1656 | 0 |
| 2. ——— Birth of Isaac | 452 | 0 |
| 3. ——— Law | 430 | 25 |
| 4. ——— Temple | 530 | 50 |
| 5. ——— Babylonish Captivity..... | 546 | 140½ |
| 6. ——— Birth of Christ..... | 601½ | 0 |
| | <hr/> 4215½ | <hr/> 215½ |

(P. 163.)

Of the freedom with which Dr. Andrew explodes old sentiments and propounds new ones, the following is a happy example.

"Periods of 666 years may be traced through different parts of the history and prophecies of the Bible, which leaves us ground to think that the mysterious number 666 given to the *Beast and False Prophet*

in the Revelation (where the word Beast, in the singular, may, and probably does stand for Beasts, in the plural) refers to the dominion of idolatrous and antichristian principles over the consciences of men, under the heads and figures of the *Cherubim*, during four times 666 years, that is 2664 years; the head of the *Man* representing the *False Prophet* or *Antichrist*, as the *Eagle* did the *Greeks* and *Romans*, the *Bull* the *Egyptians*, and the *Lion* the *Assyrians*, *Babylonians* and *Persians*; and the series probably commencing with the *plagues of Egypt*, and terminating with the breaking out of the *Crusades*, and political extinction of Christian charity from the Christian world." (P. 167.)

What, also, but wild conjecture, could originate the speculations which we next produce?

"There were 42 generations of 100 years each between the fall of Adam and the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead, if we may suppose that Adam lived 49 years in Paradise in a state of innocence, a thing credible in itself, as may easily be shewn. For, first, a hasty removal of our first parents out of Paradise would have rather argued a precipitancy of design in placing them there, quite inconsistent with the goodness and wisdom of the Almighty who had made man in his own image. Secondly, upon the expulsion of our first parents out of Paradise, it was consistent with the goodness of the Almighty to grant them the comfort of offspring which should bruise the serpent's head, or be a sign or pledge leading to that event. Now Cain and Abel were born, we shall suppose in the years of the world 52 and 59, which would make them both be of age to offer sacrifice towards the close of the century, that is in the beginning of A. M. 100; and at this time it is probable that Abel perished through the envy of his brother. It was a considerable time after the death of Abel before Eve had another son to replace Cain, who was morally dead, and Abel who was actually dead; but at the end of 30 years, Seth was born. This distribution of the known events of primitive antiquity is more natural and satisfactory than the crowded method of throwing them all together as near as possible to the creation of the world, and leaving an extensive void or blank between the fall of Adam and the birth of Seth." (P. 191.)

The length, which the author assigns to Solomon's reign, is likewise entirely conjectural.

Again, Malachi is placed in a new situation, namely B. C. 615, without any other reasoning to justify the change, than what follows:

"Malachi prophesies about this time. For his book begins thus, *The burden of the word of the Lord to Israel by Malachi*. This manner of speaking was prohibited by the prophet Jeremiah, A. M. 3604, about the beginning of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, and no true prophet ever afterwards made use of it. See Jer. xxiii. and xxiv. There is nothing in the prophecy of Malachi to make it appear that he was last of the prophets, as has been commonly asserted." (P. 194.)

Of the mischievous effect of thus unsettling all the fixed points in chronology in a brief grammatical tract, intended to furnish youth with an easier path to knowledge, and thus setting them loose without landmarks on an open field of conjecture, we apprehend there will be but one opinion among sober men. At the same time we do not deny, that some of Dr. Andrew's suggestions deserve to be investigated, and, if addressed to the learned, and not to novices, might lead to satisfactory results. The following calculation we transcribe as a specimen of the diligence with which he has applied himself to the solution of acknowledged difficulties. We wish it may attract attention from persons, who have made the whole subject of ancient chronology an object of research.

“ The term *years* is indefinite, when used before the name of any king without farther restriction. It may mean either *years of life*, or *years of reigning*, and we must judge from circumstances which of the two is the right meaning. By this means we are enabled to supply the defect, or rather abbreviation, that occurs 2 Kings i. 17, *Jehoram* (king of Israel) *began to reign in the second year* (of the life) *of Jehoram, the son of Jehoshaphat king of Judah, which was the eighteenth year of Jehoshaphat's reign*, 2 Kings iii. 1. *who reigned in all twenty-five years*, 1 Kings xxii. 42. We are not to feign as many have done, double reigns of kings either in Judah or Israel; partly because the style of Scripture accounts all reigns single, absolute, and despotic; and partly because of Scripture facts, which do not authorize it, especially in one instance where there was the fairest opportunity for a double reign, that is, (see 2 Kings xv. 5.) when king Azariah was smitten with leprosy, and his son Jotham ruled in his stead, the title of king was still continued to Azariah in his disabled state, and not imparted or communicated to his son Jotham, who acted as vice-roy. No proof can be brought from Scripture that a double reign ever took place in Judea, but over a divided territory. The construction just put upon 2 Kings i. 17, makes Jehoram king of Judah to have been eight years old when his father Jehoshaphat died: he also reigned eight years, as we read 2 Kings xiii. 17; and was thirty-two years old when he began to reign, or was crowned; so that we have an interval of twenty-six years for a *regency* between the accession to the throne and coronation of Jehoram king of Judah, in which interval the prophet Elisha flourished, and did all that is recorded of him in the first eight chapters of 2 Kings, which could hardly have been done in less time according to the circumstances of the history. And, hereby, we recover a lost reign of thirty-two years over the Israelites, under *Jehoram II.*, *grandson* of Ahab, but wrongly called *son*, 2 Kings viii. 16, whose existence has hitherto escaped the research of the learned, and whose name had been confounded with that of his father Jehoram, son of Ahab, king of Israel. Of such importance is a due attention to style, as explained by history and prophecy.” (Pp.180, 181.)

We will only further observe on this part of the work, that, when the author says—

“We infer that the world was created in spring, from the language of Scripture, which is proper, idiomatic and consistent, mentioning that the waters of Noah's flood were dried up in the first month, Gen. viii. 13; and from considering that both the flood itself, and its natural effects on the earth, would cease more advantageously for Noah and his family, as well as for the animals preserved in the ark, in spring, than in any other season of the year. The first month, therefore began in spring, both when the flood began, and when it ended; and it must have done so from the beginning, when the world was created.” (P. 164.)

he must mean, though he does not say so, in the northern hemisphere; for in the southern it must by the same rule have been autumn.

We proceed now to the dictionary itself; which however is only an alphabetical vocabulary without references and for the most part without derivations. The following are specimens.

“כָּל All, some part; to finish, fail, contain, long for. כִּבְלָתוֹ when he had ended.” (P. 31.)

“לִמְנָצָה For or concerning him, who is the strength, overseer, durable, most plain, manifested.” (P. 36.)

“מֵ Multitude, noise, tumult; who, what: when; with, from, after, more than, during, all the time.” (P. 36.)

“צֶדֶק Righteous; *justice, mercy.*” (P. 63.)

“רָע Any feeding, roving about for *good* or *evil*, but mostly *evil* in this corrupt state; evil, not proper: also, to break, be sad. רָע expresses the evil man, the evil work, and the punishment of the evil.” (P. 72.)

“שִׁלָּה A gift for her; the only looser and binder, who shall be joined to her, and lead her forth.” (P. 77.)

We imagine few persons will be satisfied either with the expositions, here adduced, or with the naked manner, in which they are propounded. The Hebrew vocabulary is followed by a Chaldee vocabulary of the same sort, and that by

“amended translations, from the Hebrew, of certain passages of the authorized English Bible.” (P. 101.)

Of these amendments we cite a few without observation, merely to shew, how unsafe it would be for any novice to trust to a guide, who teaches without authorities, and invents royal roads to grammar. The Socinian tendency of some of the amendments here produced, will not pass unnoticed.

“Gen. iii. 22. הֵן הָאָדָם הָיָה כְּאֶחָד מֵמֵנוּ לָדַעַת טוֹב וָרָע Behold the man is become as one (*an alien*) from us, through the knowledge of good and evil; וְרָעָהּ פֶּן יִשְׁלַח יָדוֹ yet, see, he shall stretch forth his hand, &c.

“ Gen. iii. 24. **וְאֵת לֶחֶם הַחַיִּים הִמְתָּהֶפְכֶת** And the flaming sword of them who have perverted themselves; **דֶּרֶךְ עֵץ הַחַיִּים** That the way to the tree of life might be preserved. **לְשֹׁמֵר אֵת**

“ Gen. ix. 12. **לְדֹרֹת עוֹלָם** For the generations of the world.

“ Gen. ix. 16. **לִזְכֹּר בְּרִית עוֹלָם** To remember the world's testament; i. e. all the days of the earth.

“ Gen. xvii. 13. **לְבְרִית עוֹלָם** For a worldly testament. Circumcision respected only the worldly dispensation given to the Jews, which was to be set aside after the resurrection. The testament or dispensation of circumcision was never meant to be everlasting.” (P, 101.)

“ Isa. liii. 2. **לֹא הָיָה וְנִרְאָהוּ וְלֹא מָדָא וְנִחְמַדְהוּ** **לֹא תָאֵר** No rank for him, and no majesty: when we shall see him, then no appearance, that we should desire him. Not, he hath no form or comeliness; for that is not true. He took upon him the form of a servant, and was a very comely man.

“ Isai. liii. 6. **וַיְהִי וַיִּפְגַּע בּוֹ אֶת עוֹן כָּלָנוּ** Then the Lord met in him with the iniquity of us all. Or, And the Lord hath interceded by him for the iniquity of us all.

“ Isai. liii. 8. **מֵעֵצֶר וּמִשְׁפַּט לָקָה** From what he retained, and from judgment he was taken, (i. e.) from his power and right.

“ Isai. liii. 10. **וַיְהִי חֶפֶץ דְּכָאוֹ** Then his contrition pleased the Lord; **הִחְלִי** when wounded.

“ Isai. liii. 10. **אִם תָּשִׁים אֶשְׁמִי נַפְשׁוֹ** When thou shalt place his soul guilty. The Jews and Romans made the soul of Jesus Christ guilty: but the word of God plainly clears him from all manner of guilt. But when the Father gave his only Son to save the lost world, he gave him up to be made guilty and to be condemned, and crucified, by the sinful and unbelieving world.” (P. 104.)

Lastly, of the grammar; we are first told by the author, that “ the principles of grammar are opposed to those of rhetoric, as light is to darkness, or matter to spirit.” (P. 153.)

So much for grammar in general. Then as to the Hebrew alphabet, Dr. Andrew is of opinion, that its letters are substantially the same with those which, according to his notion, were invented by Adam, who thus not only named the animals, but formed an alphabet for the purpose of writing their names. Accordingly, Dr. Andrew has very sagaciously penetrated into the original idea in the mind of our first parent, which led to the order and shape of the Hebrew letters; and he finds,

“ That the first and last letters of the alphabet, **א, ת**, were named *Aleph* and *Tau* from their situation; as *Aleph* signifies a *leader*, and *Tau* a *boundary*. The letter **ב** *Beth*, whence *tube* in English, signifies *hollow* or a *house*, either of which its figure may rudely represent. The modern name, *Gimel*, differs probably from the ancient name of **ג**. The corresponding Greek name is *Gamma*, which may be taken as a corruption of **גִּמְלָה** *gay, excellent, high*; especially as the coun-

terpart, or next letter, *Daleth*, or *Delta*, ד signifies *dole*, *depression*, *poverty*, and, by its contiguity and form, seems to stand in the way of contrast to it. Next, ך denotes existence or life, and the free opening or ventilation through it, may betoken passing events. In ך we have a hook, clasp, or tack, that joins things together; and ך, on the contrary, marks dispersion, scattering, separation." (P. 109.)

So too,

"The form of ך, which by being reversed makes the Greek σ, betokens circling round, and marks the idea, which is *to circle round* as a whirlwind, *to hover* as a flag, and *to try* or *tempt*. The form, sound, and sense of the letter, are more akin to the English word *snake*, than to the modern Jewish name of *Samech*. The name of the next letter, *Oin*, may be supposed to be original. It signifies either *the eye*; or a *spring*, or *fountain* of water. The shape of ך bears a strong resemblance to the socket of the eye, with the optic nerve attached to it: and it is also not unlike to a *well* or *spring*. The fountain head is still called, in some parts of Britain, the *well-eye*." (P. 110.)

Again,

"Whether ך denote a trident, or fork with three teeth, for cultivating the ground, or bearing off its produce,"

this being (we presume) the true form of the plough or spade used in paradise,

"and so derive its name from ך a tooth, or from שׂא *to lift up*, or *take away*; or whether it be connected with ששן *the lily*, or *joyful people*, and so have originally obtained the name of שמח *Samech*, to rejoice, which seems to be the true etymology of the name of the corresponding letter in Greek *Sigma*, there can be no doubt that the original name and signification corresponded with the character." (P. 111.)

Nevertheless there are some grammatical distinctions of a somewhat later date.

"The epithets, radical and servile, cannot be supposed to have been used in paradise, nor yet antecedently to the Babylonish captivity." (P. 112.)

In this last observation our readers perhaps will be ready to concur, even if they should be sceptical about all the rest.

The declension of Hebrew substantives is represented by Dr. Andrew, and indeed by most other grammarians, as consisting of six cases, according to the model of the classical languages, although the Hebrew substantive, in either number, is not varied in form, except when it is prefixed to another substantive. It is true, that the prefix, את, marks the accusative or objective case. But it does this equally, whether it be prefixed to the absolute or to the constructive form of the noun, and besides is often omitted. In other respects, the construction of nouns is managed by prefixing prepositions,

as in English, in which language the name of cases is equally inappropriate. In Hebrew, however, there is one name of case which is peculiarly inapplicable, the genitive, inasmuch as that which corresponds to it, is merely the absolute or nominative form of the word, following another noun in regimen. The author calls this government, apposition, contrary to the common use of that word, which means the sequence of two nouns of the same signification in the same case.

Dr. Andrew says,

"There are no irregular verbs in Hebrew, as in other languages. All irregularities in the structure of language argue defect or imperfection. They show that certain words or phrases have become obsolete through age, or have been imported through affectation, necessity, or convenience, from other languages. Now the language of the Hebrew Bible is perfect as it is ancient, and pure as it is excellent. There is nothing in it obsolete, barbarous, or impure. But the Masoretic system of vowel-points, with which the text of the Hebrew Bible has been disfigured these eight hundred years, or thereabouts, is a monstrous innovation, unsuited to the genius, simplicity, and perfection of the language, producing confusion and irregularity where none really exist." (P. 140.)

Is there then no difference in the conjugation of Hebrew verbs, whether א, ר, י, or ו, be among their radical letters or not, unless the Masoretic punctuation be taken into the account? Is ישב declined like גלה? or is תת formed regularly from נתן? Whether these variations be called irregularities or not, is of little consequence. But it is no more possible to conjugate all verbs on one model, in Hebrew, than in French or Greek; though instances may not occur in it, whether the Masoretic be introduced or no, of parts of verbs, borrowed from different originals, like the fragments in the substantive verb of other nations.

The author, however, is no less sanguine on this point in his syntax, than he is in his accidence: for he predicts, with equal boldness,

"that when Hebrew syntax is rightly understood, there will be found few or no irregularities in it." (P. 153.)

Moreover, he is as angry with the Septuagint, as with the Masoretic. Thus we are informed, or rather young biblical students are informed by him, most unhesitatingly, that

"The Greek version of the Bible, called the *Septuagint*, bears many internal marks of having been made after the apostolical age; amongst others, its quotations from the New Testament may be held a sufficient proof, although many people turn the argument the other way, and say that the apostles quoted from it." (P. 197.)

"It is probable that the Jewish author of the Apocryphal Books of *Esdras*, was also the author of the Greek translation of the Bible,

called the *Septuagint*, and that he lived and wrote about A. D. 130. That he was contemporary with Suetonius may be inferred from the circumstances of his tasteless allegory of the *Feathers of an Eagle*, in allusion to a certain number of the *Roman Cæsars*; and that the *Chronology* of the *Septuagint* is screwed up to suit the *prophetic fictions* of this Pseudo-Esdras, is every where discernible. He quotes the New Testament many times, where *fabulous tradition* has stated that the apostles of our Lord have quoted the *Septuagint*. Is it likely that Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, Origen, and others of their age, would have troubled themselves, as they did without necessity or authority, about a new translation of the Hebrew Bible into Greek, had an authorized and publicly received Greek version been already in common circulation? If the *authority* of the *Septuagint* be indisputable, why is not its *infallibility* equally so?" (P. 140.)

Now, if by the authority of the *Septuagint* are meant its antiquity and genuineness, infallibility does not follow from the establishment of any such claim: and in no other sense is the authority of the *Septuagint* contended for in any quarter. That it existed before the time of our Saviour, or, at least, that some Greek translation existed then, which it will be difficult to prove was not the same which is now extant under that name, is plain from the testimony of Josephus: and, if it existed, nothing can be a more natural supposition, than that the apostles occasionally quoted from a version which was then in use, and with which the phraseology of their quotations is commonly found to agree.

A strange example is given of the common rule,

"A verb agrees with its nominative in gender, number, and person; and the nominative is often set after the verb, as, **הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֵת הָאָרֶץ בָּרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת**" (P. 153, 154.)

In which example a singular verb agrees with a plural noun, and is commonly understood to be so used to convey the mystery of a plurality in the eternal Godhead.

We need not now conduct our readers through the Chaldee grammar, which is formed on the same model: and indeed we have said enough to express our opinion of summary methods of instruction, which overleap its real difficulties, or hide them beneath a mass of rubbish.

ART. IX.—*Thoughts chiefly designed as a Preparative or Persuasive to Private Devotion*; By John Sheppard. Second Edition. London. G and B. Whittaker. 1824. 12mo. Pp. xxiv. and 342.

"I know not," saith the inimitable Bishop Taylor, "which is the greater wonder, either that prayer, which is a duty so easy and facile, so ready, and apted to the powers, and skill, and opportunities of every man, should have so great effects, and be productive of such mighty blessings, or that we should be so unwilling to use so easy an instrument of procuring so much good. The first declares God's goodness, but this publishes man's folly and weakness, who finds in himself so much difficulty to perform a condition so easy and full of advantage. But the order of this felicity is knotted, like the foldings of a serpent; all those parts of easiness which invite us to do the duty are become like the joints of a bulrush, not bendings, but consolidation and stiffenings. The very facility becomes its objection; and in every of its stages we make or find a huge uneasiness. At first we do not know what to ask; and when we do, then we find difficulty to bring our wills to desire it; and when that is instructed and kept in awe, it mingles interest and confounds the purposes: and when it is forced to ask honestly and severely, then it wills so coldly that God hates the prayer; and if it desires fervently, it sometimes turns that into passion, and that passion breaks into murmurs or unquietness; or if that be avoided, the indifferency cools into death, or the fire burns violently, and is quickly spent, our desires are dull as a rock, or fugitive as lightning; either we ask ill things, or good things remissly; we either court our own danger, or are not zealous for our real safety; or if we be right in our matter, or earnest in our affections and lasting in our abode, yet we miss in the manner; and either we ask for evil ends, or without religious and awful apprehensions; or we rest in the words and signification of the prayer, and never take care to pass on to action." * The sentiments contained in this beautiful passage, are familiar to the devotional experience of every man who feels his dependence upon the Most High for all good, and the duty of prayer as the appointed medium of obtaining spiritual mercies, and of preparing the heart to receive and improve them. Why then have we laid before our readers only the echo of their own sentiments—the record of their

* Taylor's Sermons, l. 65, 66. On the return of Prayer.

daily experience? Simply because the passage serves to invest the expression of those sentiments with beauties of imagination and language which the mind of their author could alone provide: and because we think, that whether new or reiterated, they will charm every man who is alive to the subject. It exhibits a condensed, but most comprehensive sketch of difficulties which a judicious writer could not overlook or undervalue, and perhaps they have never been more admirably delineated amidst the countless pages that have been written upon the inexhaustible subject of that most necessary, but most mysterious commerce which takes place between God and the Christian, when he spreads his heart before the Lord in the privacy of his closet, as Hezekiah spread the letter of the Assyrian before God in the temple.

If, however, so many volumes have been written by Christians of every age, and every condition of life, upon the duties, the hindrances, the discouragements, and the comforts of secret prayer, why should another be added to the list? The answer is found in the various dispositions of readers: and vast as are the sources of entertainment and instruction provided for them, some may have turned from every thing hitherto provided, and yet be beguiled into the reading of an author, whose peculiar cast of mind or expression may have an echo in their hearts; and may excite a spirit of consideration, which all former appeals had failed to awaken. "There is also a taste in moral and religious, as well as in other compositions." Those which are popular in one day, are neglected in another. If that taste may lawfully and innocently be indulged by readers, we should welcome the writers, however multiplied, who present, each according to his own view, the great truths and duties of religion in that garb, which each imagines may be most attractive to the eye, or most desirable to the wearer: provided always, that the staple be good, and the manufacture such as the artist need not be ashamed to produce. Each of these writers must be contented to yield his claim upon public regard to others differently gifted; as the old readers give place to successors of other tastes and habits. "If any good be wrought by those who, in this their day, endeavour to make men wise unto salvation, our hope is, with that of faithful Nehemiah, that God will remember them concerning these things." *

Among the individuals to whom the serious public is much indebted for coming forward to the execution of a most difficult task—that of writing an interesting book upon a subject

* Bishop Horne's Preface to Sermons.

so commonly discussed as prayer, the author of these Thoughts must undoubtedly be reckoned. He has brought to his undertaking a mind evidently trained to habits of bold, and manly thought. Unwilling to travel "*circa vitem patulumque orbem*," or to take his opinions at second hand, or by any process of filtration through the minds of others, he is apparently determined to make a path for himself: and his sentiments exhibit the raciness and vigour of originality, to an extent which the modest size and exterior of his little work did not prepare us to expect; especially on a subject which has occupied every rank of intellect, and been submitted to public notice in every form of expression. His mind is rich in its own imaginative powers, and evidently disciplined by an extensive and accurate acquaintance with the best authors, not only on divinity, but on morals, general literature, and science. He has availed himself of these advantages with the judgment of a man who reads, not merely for his own information, but as a steward for the benefit of others; and who imparts his knowledge with equal effect and simplicity.

Indeed amidst the general ambition to shine, by which authorship in all its varieties is so greatly distinguished, we feel ourselves indebted to a writer thus aiming, not to display his own knowledge, but to subserve the information of others; deeming no acquirement so great as not to be ennobled by its application to the spread of divine truth; and no province of this great work beneath his notice and cultivation. With an excursive, and indeed highly poetical mind, (as two or three specimens exhibit,) he is always ingenious and acute; not rarely subtle and metaphysical. In fact, the latter quality of his mind seems by no means the least distinguished, or the most rarely brought into exercise. It has however, upon the whole rather an unfavourable and deadening effect upon the course of his argument, lofty as are the subjects on which it is employed; and highly energetic as is the mode in which he treats them. In examining the various phenomena connected with the *moral* philosophy of the human mind, such a character of writing is not only natural and graceful, but almost necessary. This subject requires to be investigated, with something of that precision of language which is essential in treating upon any of the exact sciences. But the case is very different, where the subject of investigation is the *spiritual* constitution of our minds. When its religious affections, capacities, and duties are discussed in the manner of Reid, Stewart, Brown, or even Paley, they contract a formal and studied aspect which seems to freeze, instead of

warming the affections ; to convince the understanding, but to leave the heart unsubdued and uninterested. Such writers, as it has been well, though quaintly observed, resemble the moon on a frosty night ;—they are clear, but very cold. Even the fervour of the language itself, by which an author may endeavour to unburthen the labourings of his heart, serves rather to increase the apparent frigidity of minute reasoning, than to give it warmth, vigour, flow, and energy. Such is not unfrequently the case with Mr. Sheppard. His mind appears to be of this texture : and while his mode of writing is really “prose by a poet,” his essays sometimes leave us disposed to wish he had been less alive to the need of refinements in reasoning ; and more to the full and deep flow of thought and feeling, which the all-important subject of secret prayer demands. We would on no account be understood as charging him with lukewarmness or indifference. He writes evidently from the heart ;—refers to the stores of his own feelings, for experimental views of religion ; and comes forward in every page, like one who has an individual interest in the matter of which he treats ; who acknowledges its importance to his present welfare ; and is himself an humble, but sincere aspirant to worship the Father in spirit and in truth. He knows, and writes like one who knows, that,

“except there be in the heart a germ of real piety—except it be, though weak and imperfect, yet genuine and incorrupt, rooted and growing, it were vain to hope, that even the climate of heaven could expand that which is lifeless, or invest that which has no principle of growth with beauty and fragrance.” (P. 299.)

Still, however, this conviction cannot extricate him from the difficulties into which a rather subtle mode of argumentation occasionally leads him. We shall extract some passages in proof of the compensating quality which a glowing genius, and a sincere heart never fail to supply ; and which abound in the pages of this valuable and scriptural volume.

Illustration is, with Mr. Sheppard, a favourite mode of conveying instruction ; and doubtless one which within due limits is the most attractive, the most simple and the most striking. Such as this book presents are always ingenious, often original, and in most cases very happily and pertinently introduced. This method of elucidating and enforcing an argument, when it is neither long nor desultory, adds greatly to the graphic character and interest of a work.

The volume consists of twenty-six essays, each bearing upon the main scope of the subject ; and tending both as a preparative and persuasive to private devotion. These different

heads of discussion are treated with a length or brevity, in some degree proportioned to the importance of the matter which they contain. The connexion between them is not always very clear, or well defined : and as the quaint but admirable Henry would have observed, " they are rather pearls for stringing, than strings of pearls." Perhaps a little more of method and arrangement might have been adopted with advantage. It must suffice to name the first six " thoughts," into which the author has divided his work. " I. On a right sense of the divine greatness.—II. On the omnipresence of Deity.—III. On the efficacy of prayer.—IV. On apathy and deadness respecting revealed truth.—V. On the profound imperfection of all human thought and language in the view of the Creator.—VI. On the greatness of the blessings which we seek in prayer." The whole is closed by a series of notes occupying about thirty-eight pages ; which, as Mr. Sheppard has observed, " are not necessary to the pieces which gave occasion to them ; but are designed for a more literate class of readers, and may be best perused apart," (Pref. p. xvi.) We really think they might have been left out, not only without prejudice to the book, but with considerable advantage to the reader's time. They rarely serve much purpose of illustration ; and are not distinguished by any especial kind of merit, whether argumentative or eloquent, which demanded their insertion. One exception indeed must be made : and truly should we have regretted, if the correspondence with Lord Byron had been omitted. It exhibits a beautiful trait of Christian solicitude for the best and eternal welfare of a stranger : and places the character of the deceased poet in a less unamiable point of view, than it has lately exhibited. Among the papers of the Author's wife, found after her decease, was a prayer, evidently alluding to the character and ill-directed talents of Lord Byron, of whom the sainted writer had not the slightest knowledge, beyond the universal acquaintance of readers with his transcendent talents, and the universal sorrow of Christians that those talents should be perverted to build a monument of dishonour to himself ; or a temple dedicated to vice, filled with the grossest idols of sensuality and unbelief, which might tempt the unpractised feet of youth to walk darkling and bewildered through porches that could conduct them only

" To Pyrrho's maze, or Epicurus' sty."

A well meant zeal induced Mr. Sheppard to forward into Italy, this interesting supplication for his Lordship's repentance and restoration to God. The prayer was enclosed in a letter from Mr. S., to which an answer was very unexpectedly

returned. His Lordship's part of the correspondence sadly reminds us of the brief but solemn space allotted by Francesca to the renegade Alp, for his penitence and hope of mercy;—a space which he suffered to pass by unimproved, and which came again no more for ever.

“ There is a light cloud by the moon—
 ’Tis passing, and will pass full soon—
 If by the time its vapoury sail
 Hath ceased her shaded orb to veil,
 Thy heart within thee is not changed,
 Then God and man are both avenged;
 Dark will thy doom be, darker still
 Thine immortality of ill.”

But the letter shall speak for itself, and may as fitly be introduced here as in any other place.

“ Sir;

Pisa, December 8, 1821.

“ I HAVE received your letter. I need not say that the extract which it contains has affected me, because it would imply a want of all feeling to have read it with indifference. Though I am not quite *sure* that it was intended by the writer for *me*, yet the date, the place where it was written, with some other circumstances which you mention, render the allusion probable. But, for whomever it was meant, I have read it with all the pleasure which can arise from so melancholy a topic. I say *pleasure*, because your brief and simple picture of the life and demeanour of the excellent person whom I trust that you will again meet, cannot be contemplated without the admiration due to her virtues, and her pure and unpretending piety. Her last moments were particularly striking; and I do not know that, in the course of reading the story of mankind, and still less in my observations upon the existing portion, I ever met with any thing so unostentatiously beautiful. Indisputably, the firm believers in the gospel have a great advantage over all others,—for this simple reason, that if true, they will have their reward hereafter; and if there be no hereafter, they can be but with the infidel in his eternal sleep, having had the assistance of an exalted hope, through life, without subsequent disappointment, since (at the worst for them) “out of nothing, nothing can arise,” not even sorrow. But a man's creed does not depend upon *himself*; who can say, *I will believe*,—this,—that,—or the other? and least of all, that which he least can comprehend. I have, however, observed that those who have begun life with extreme faith, have in the end greatly narrowed it, as Chillingworth, Clarke, (who ended as an Arian,) Bayle, and Gibbon, (once a Catholic,) and some others; while on the other hand, nothing is more common than for the early sceptic to end in a firm belief, like Manpertuis and Henry Kirke White.

“ But my business is to acknowledge your letter, and not to make a dissertation. I am obliged to you for your good wishes, and more than obliged by the extracts from the papers of the beloved object whose qualities you have so well described in a few words. I can

assure you that all the fame which ever cheated humanity into higher notions of its own importance, would never weigh in my mind against the pure and pious interest which a virtuous being may be pleased to take in my welfare. In this point of view, I would not exchange the prayer of the deceased in my behalf, for the united glory of Homer, Cæsar, and Napoleon, could such be accumulated on a living head.

“Do me at least justice to suppose, that

‘*Video meliora proboque,*

however the ‘*Deteriora sequor*’ may have been applied to my conduct.

“I have the honour to be,

Your obliged and obedient servant,

BYRON.”

Dr. Chalmers has drawn an eloquent and powerful contrast between the wants of the body, which we instinctively desire to supply, and those of the soul, under which we labour without any, or at least with a very indistinct, consciousness of their existence, and therefore with very inadequate desires for their removal. To this imperfection is due that apathy in prayer, which is a disease of such frequent occurrence in Christian experience; and to which Mr. Sheppard has devoted a chapter, whence we select the following animated passage, apparently suggested by the idea of Dr. Chalmers, to which we have already alluded.

“I am not merely like one so situated that food will not be brought him if he be too slothful to seek it, but like one whose appetite is impaired; not merely like one “*rexed* with cold,” but like one beginning to be *motionless* with cold, in whom sensation is partly blunted. Rouse thyself, O my soul, from this spiritual lethargy. Remember that thy weak indifference cannot produce even the minutest change or intermission in the sleepless course of things. Still, amidst seeming rest and inertness, the solid earth is rolling on its axis, and rushing through space. Every planet flies with undeclining velocity through its vast orbit. The pulses of animal life vibrate in thy frame, and its vital fluid incessantly circulates, while thy spiritual life is stagnating. At every moment, unnumbered beings make their entrance into time, and a multitude take their flight into eternity. The infinite energy of the Eternal mind is awake to all the events of his universe, and governing them all. The praises and melodies of heaven are unsuspended. The laments of the miserable are wakeful and unassuaged. The ever-prevailing Mediator continually intercedes. The day of thy summons into an unknown world, swiftly approaches by the unceasing lapse of time; and every little section of the dial or the watch, which the shadow or the index traverses, is a portion of the unintermitted (never to be intermitted) progress towards the home of spirits.—‘Behold the Judge standeth before the door.’ It will be but a transient succession, a swift continuation of hours and minutes, and thou shalt have to look back upon the consummation of terrestrial things, upon the awful disclosures and decisions of the great retributive day, upon the

moment when thy own character, as viewed by the Searcher of hearts, stood first revealed, and with it thy allotment in a new untried existence! And now, while those scenes are yet future, every action, every temper, every purpose and bias of the mind, is to be regarded as a sowing for an eternal harvest. The influences of heaven, even of the Almighty and All Holy Spirit, are offered to him that implores them, and are able to produce in the soul, "fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life." A celestial and endless blessedness is set before thy faith, with every solemn promise and mighty work of Christ to guarantee its reality; and he who is gone to 'prepare a place' for his followers, has engaged to come again and receive them to himself." (Pp. 31—33.)

This chapter (if so the landing-places of the book may be called) unites well with one a few pages onward, devoted to a consideration of the blessings we seek from God in prayer; and by which we were irresistibly led to remember Bishop Taylor's exquisite remark upon the same all-important subject. "The things of religion and the spirit are the only things that ought to be desired vehemently, and pursued passionately: because God hath set such a value upon them, that they are the effects of his greatest loving-kindness; they are the purchases of Christ's blood, and the effect of his continual intercession, the fruits of his bloody sacrifice, and the gifts of his healing and saving mercy, the graces of God's spirit and the only instruments of felicity. And if we can have fondness for things indifferent or dangerous, our prayers upbraid our spirits when we beg coldly and tamely for those things for which we ought to die; which are more precious than the globes of kings, and weightier than imperial sceptres; richer than the spoils of the sea, or the treasures of the Indian hills."*

Among the objections made by those whom a sense of spiritual destitution and dependence has begun to lead as supplicants to the Giver of every good, few are more common than that of inadequate expression, and deficiency of fluency in prayer. Men thus circumstanced seem to forget that the Most High is not to be won by flights of human eloquence: but by the fervent language of a broken and contrite heart; "God be merciful to me a sinner!" Were it otherwise, the dying Christian, whose fainting heart, and feeble voice can barely enable him to say, "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit," would have small hope of acceptance and a blessing. Yet is he at this moment,—when his stammering lips are about to close in death—on the verge of that world of light where he shall join the harmony of the

blessed; and about to have his utterance enlarged and ennobled for that language, before which all the expressions of man's eloquence are more imperfect than the first lisplings of infancy. On this subject the following extract speaks with much beauty; and may be taken as a favourable specimen of the author's more animated manner.

"We know, or should know, on reflection, that the loftiness and compass of human eloquence are as *merely relative* as the mass and height of mountains; and that in the view of the infinite mind of Him who "taketh up the hills as an atom;" the differences between the most expansive and the narrowest, the most exalted and the humblest modes of human thought and speech are as utterly inconsiderable. The disproportion between the conceptions and communications of Lord Bacon and those of a peasant, is to us immense; but to the all-comprehending intellect it is only a difference in degrees of littleness: it is as the difference between Caucasus and a hillock, unto Him 'who meted out heaven with a span.' To us the thoughts of some few among our fellow men, and the medium through which they are conveyed to us, appear splendidly distinguished from those of the multitude: the difference is real; and is, relatively, great: but it is a difference between 'very little things,' and therefore, *in itself*, a very little difference. The full and finished strain of the parent nightingale enchants us; the chirp of her brood has no power to please. Both however are but the feeble and limited notes of birds. The eloquence of Cicero and Chatham transported their hearers; while a child or an uninstructed person can scarcely give distinct utterance to one interesting thought or emotion. Yet both classes speak only 'with the tongues of men;' and thought conceived and expressed by means of so earthly and frail an organization as ours, is probably, even in its strongest conception and best enunciation, exceedingly weak and circumscribed, not only in the view of the Deity, but of some created minds. Even to Newton, the difference between the acquirements of a child who knew the first rudiments of numbers, and of a student who could demonstrate the theorems of Euclid, must have appeared, comparatively, trifling; because he himself is said to have comprehended the latter *intuitively*. We cannot, therefore, doubt that intelligences of a higher order must look on the highest reach of human science as infantine, and the ablest use of language as a very indirect and defective method of signifying thought. Even *we* feel its inadequacy. How much more must they: and if, therefore, the *differences* of human thought and speech, appear little, when absolutely considered, to superior *finite* minds, *how* little to Him that 'fashioneth our hearts alike.'" (Pp. 37, 38, 39.)

The volume is introduced with a very animated, and we will add, poetical inscription of its contents to the memory of a departed mother; some of whose latest earthly hours were spent in marking, in the first edition, many passages which she preferred; and who ceased not from her task of love—

Till death, unclasping heaven's eternal book,
 Show'd the deep indigence of earthly thought—
 By that contrasted splendour quite reveal'd.

It is unnecessary to comment upon the author's style, our readers may judge for themselves from the passages now quoted. It is generally correct, sometimes a little obscure; and occasionally marked by slight mistakes. One occurs at Pref. p. xviii. "thou whose internal character most resembles *ours*." (our own). At p. 7, we have twice in successive lines "*an* universal" for *a* universal; and "inferible" for "infer-rible," or "inferable;" "deducible" would probably be somewhat better. But these are trifles which amidst much excellence we are almost ashamed to mention. We have risen from the volume with feelings of much pleasure; and with a sincere respect for the author as a man of no common talents or piety; from whom more may yet be expected for the honour of that Redeemer whose he evidently is, and whom he seems faithfully and zealously to serve.

X.—DISSENT.

1. *Christian Fellowship; or the Church Member's Guide.* By J. A. James. Second Edition. Pp. x. 264.
2. *Reasons for Dissent from the Church of England.* By the late Rev. Samuel Lowell. Pp. ix. 47.

IN each of the works now before us, we have the discussion of a distinct and important question. In the one we are taught what a church ought to be; and in the other, what it ought not to be. They both proceed from writers of high consideration among our dissenting brethren, and as there is a manifest connection between the topics on which they treat, we have thought it advisable to combine them for our present purpose. Which is, to draw from them whatever information they afford as to the real principles, feelings and practices of modern dissenters—a subject on which we are inclined to believe that much ignorance prevails.

The *Church Member's Guide* contains nine chapters. The first chapter defines "a Christian church." In the second and third chapters on "the nature and design of church fellowship," and on "the privileges of membership," are many things peculiar to dissenters; but the fourth chapter,

on "the general duties of church members," might as well have been entitled 'on the general duties of Christians.' This chapter has more of religion and less of dissent than any other portion of the book. The fifth chapter points out "the duties of church members to their pastors." The first part of the sixth chapter, (p. 82—94.) on "the duties of church members to each other," is in fact on "the general duties of Christians," and should have been included in the fourth chapter. In the seventh chapter "the duties of church members to the members of other Christian societies" are discussed. "They should respect the religious opinions and practices of others;" (p. 122.) "avoid religious bigotry and prejudice;" (p. 123.) and "abstain from all officious controversy and underhand proselytism." (p. 124.) We sincerely regret that our author did not remember his own rules, when he wrote his first chapter, in which he respects neither "the principles nor the practices" of the establishment, but manifests much "prejudice," and scarcely conceals a spirit of "proselytism." In treating of "the duties of church members towards churches of their own denomination," our author is evidently irritated, and writes with exasperated feelings. We were really pained, not only at the fierce dissensions, which he notices between dissenting congregations, but at the sarcastic bitterness, with which he condemns them. We are tempted to ask,

'Tantæne animis cœlestibus iræ ?'

The eighth chapter notices "the duties of church members in their peculiar character and station." The greater and better part of this chapter should be transferred to the fourth. The last chapter is 'miscellaneous' on "church power," and "church meetings;" "on the admission, and removal of members;" "on discipline;" "on the election of ministers;" "on administering the Lord's Supper to the sick in private houses;" "on the causes of schisms, which disturb the church;" and on "the support of ministers." This chapter is thoroughly dissenting and altogether very curious. It contains a faithful, though not so highly coloured a likeness of dissent as the author could have drawn.

Our readers may now form some idea of this work; but they would not conceive that it contains the severest attacks on the Establishment. "The Church of England," says he, "retains many of the *corruptions* of her *relation* at Rome." (P. 146.) This is as candid and as true as if we were to assert, that, 'The Independents retain many of the corruptions and hypocrisies of their father and founder, the immoral, the infamous Robert Brown.' Not satisfied with this lighter

mode of sarcastic warfare, our author deliberately advances the most unjust charges against the Established Church.

"The Church of England, (says he, p. 15.) teaches that *all who die go to heaven*, whatever was their previous character !!!"

Thus wantonly does our author charge 12,000 living episcopal clergymen with utter incompetency of understanding, and searedness of conscience. For their understanding must be blunted into perfect dulness, if they do not perceive the palpable inconsistency, and their conscience must be seared into insensibility itself, if they do not feel the tremendous guilt, of continuing in a church which teaches such a doctrine. This single example will prepare our readers for that severity of scrutiny which our author has so confidently challenged. For he is as complacent and confident in his charges, as he is sarcastic and severe in his language.

"We offer these reasons for dissent to the public, and invite for them *the severest scrutiny*, being confident of their truth." (P. 16.)

"The Papacy, and the *Episcopacy* with every other ecclesiastical corruption," &c. (P. 184.)

"To the charge of Schism preferred against us by *episcopalian bigots* with such vituperation and such perseverance, we are as insensible as one human being can be to the accusations of another." (P. 239.)

In this high tone of confidence does he announce the perfection of his system, and the invincibility of his arguments!

We shall now enter on an examination, in the first place, of our author's *objections against the Established Church*.

1. "The Church of England teaches that baptism is regeneration." (P. 15.)

We meet this assertion with a simple negative. The Church of England teaches that baptism is not regeneration! In her 27th article she teaches that 'baptism is a *sign* of regeneration or new birth, whereby, as by an *instrument*, they that receive baptism rightly are grafted into the church.' She teaches (Art. 25 : 29.) that both the sacraments 'are signs of grace,' utterly useless unless 'rightly received,' and that 'they who receive them unworthily' 'are in no wise partakers of Christ,' 'but purchase to themselves damnation.' In her Catechism she inquires—

Q. 'What is the outward visible *sign* or form in baptism ?

A. 'Water, wherein the person is baptized.

Q. 'What is the inward and spiritual grace ?

A. 'A death unto sin, and a new birth unto righteousness : for being by nature born in sin, and the children of wrath, we are *hereby* made the children of grace.' 'Hereby,—that is, 'by a death unto sin, and a new birth unto righteousness.'

Baptism, therefore, as our church teaches, is *not* regeneration; but the *sign* of regeneration. We are willing to allow that when our author hazarded his bold assertion, he was probably ignorant both of our Articles and Catechism, and referred,—perhaps only at second-hand—to our Baptismal Service. ‘We yield Thee hearty thanks, most merciful Father, that it hath pleased Thee to regenerate this infant with Thy Holy Spirit.’ But we claim for the formularies of our church, what is conceded to all other compositions, that they be compared with themselves. Let her Articles and her Catechism, in which our church *formally* teaches, be compared with her *incidental* and *charitable* declaration in her Baptismal Service. When baptism has been *rightly* administered, and *rightly* received, our church in the judgment of charity supposes that the grace of regeneration has been communicated; and, therefore, thanks God that it hath pleased Him to regenerate the baptized infant. Let our author turn and twist, dissect and distort the passage, as he please, we defy him to prove from it that “our church teaches that baptism is regeneration.” Some members of our church, whom he deems an honour to any body of Christians (p. 13, note) strongly deny, while other members as readily admit, the inseparable connexion of baptism and regeneration. But admitting even this, still, unless cause and effect, the sign and the thing signified, be the same, our author’s broad assertion is altogether unproved. For were baptism and regeneration as inseparable as the substance and its shadow, that man must be singularly gifted, who could assert that the shadow was the substance. In the passage, which we have quoted from the Baptismal Service, our church does *not* teach that baptism is regeneration. The utmost which she teaches is that God has regenerated the baptized infant, *not by baptism*; BUT ‘BY HIS HOLY SPIRIT.’ And when baptism has been rightly administered, and rightly received, we challenge our author to prove that regeneration has not been effected!

2. “The Church of England teaches that her bishops have the power of conferring the Holy Ghost in the ordination of ministers.” (P. 15.)

This objection is founded on the form of words in “The ordering of Priests;”—“Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a priest in the church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands.”

It is evident, that these words, “Receive the Holy Ghost,” are copied from the words of our Lord, when he ordained his apostles to preach the Gospel to all the world: “As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you. And when He had said

this He breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost," John xx. 21, 22. It is also evident that these words cannot mean more in the "ordering of priests," than they mean in the Gospel of St. John. It is further evident that the words in St. John do not mean "the conferring of the Holy Ghost;" because "the Holy Ghost was not then," but *afterwards* "given." Finally, therefore, it is evident that the words, "Receive the Holy Ghost," do not mean "the conferring of the Holy Ghost" in the ordering of priests. What, then, is the meaning of these words of our Lord? Let any commentator be consulted.

"*Receive the Holy Ghost:*"—"Receive now the gifts and graces of the Holy Ghost—for your assistance and success in the ministerial work, which I now commit to you." (Guyse.)

"*Receive the Holy Ghost:*"—"And take this as an earnest of what you shall further receive not many days hence; for thus will I shortly breathe out the miraculous influences of my Spirit upon you—to qualify you for this important office." (Doddridge.)

"*Receive the Holy Ghost:*"—"Ye are soon to receive the Holy Ghost in the fulness of his communication, whereby you will be qualified to declare the only terms, on which men's sins are to be pardoned." (Macknight.)

[*λάβετε πνεῦμα ἁγίου.*] 'Tam certe este vos *accepturos* Spiritum quam sentitis hunc flatum. Act i. 4.' (Grotius.)

All commentators will agree in the sound exposition of Hooker. 'The Holy Ghost which our Lord gave his apostles, when he sent them to preach the gospel, was a ghostly authority, and a holy power over the souls of men:—such authority and such power as neither earthly prince, nor earthly potentate can give. "*Receive the Holy Ghost:*"—Receive the *authority* and *commission* of the Holy Ghost to baptize my little ones, to feed my sheep, to preach my gospel, and to "do this in remembrance of me."'" (Hooker, vol. ii. 8vo. 427—429.)

Our readers will, we believe, conclude with us that the Church of England does not teach that her bishops have the power of conferring the Holy Ghost in the ordination of ministers!

3. "The Church of England teaches that her bishops have the power of conferring the Holy Ghost in the confirmation of the young." (P. 15.)

Our author could not have seen 'The Office of Confirmation' in our Prayer Book, when he made this unfounded charge against our church. For in that 'office' the bishop only prays—'Strengthen, O Lord, these thy ser-

vants with the Holy Ghost ;' 'let thy Holy Spirit ever be with them ;'—'and may they daily increase in thy Holy Spirit !'—Does the Church of England teach in these scriptural petitions "that her bishops have the power of conferring the Holy Ghost?" Is there no difference between a prayer for obtaining, and a power of conferring, the Holy Spirit? Mr. James, will, doubtless, be grieved that he has brought this false accusation against the Established Church, and, agreeably to the declaration in his preface (P. vii.) "will thank us for showing him his error."

4. "The Church of England teaches that her priests have power to absolve sins." (P. 15.)

The Church of England teaches that *God alone* can forgive the sins of the penitent. 'God is faithful and just to forgive us our sins.' (beginning of morning prayer.) 'ALMIGHTY God hath given power and commandment to his ministers *to declare and pronounce to his people being penitent, the absolution and remission of their sins ;* HE pardoneth and absolveth &c.'—[Absolution.] '*Almighty and everlasting God, who dost forgive the sins of all them that are penitent.*'—[Collect for Ash-Wednesday.] '*Almighty God, pour down upon us the abundance of thy mercy, forgiving us those things whereof our conscience is afraid.*'—[Collect, 12th Sunday after Trinity.] These quotations, which might be multiplied a hundred-fold, abundantly prove that the Church of England teaches that *God alone can forgive sin*. But we are aware, from our author's note (p. 16.), that he refers to the absolution, in 'The visitation of the sick.' We transcribe the whole of the 'Absolution.'

'Our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath left power to his church to absolve all sinners who truly repent, and believe in him ; of his great mercy forgive thee thine offences : and by his authority committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy sins, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.'

'I absolve thee from all thy sins.' It is evident (we adopt our former mode of reasoning,) that this absolution is founded on the commission of our Lord to his apostles : 'Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them.' John xx. 23. It is evident that the words in the absolution cannot mean more than the words in the Evangelist. It is evident that the words in the Evangelist do not mean the forgiveness of sins. It is, therefore, evident that the correspondent words in the prayer of Absolution do not mean the forgiveness of sins ! What then, is the meaning of these words, "Whose

soever sins ye remit, they are remitted?" Doddridge gives this paraphrase: 'Whose soever sins ye *declare* to be forgiven, they are forgiven.'** Such too is the meaning of the words, 'I absolve thee:' 'I *declare* thee to be absolved.' If thou truly repent thee of thy sins, and truly believe in Christ, I *declare* thee, according to the tenor of the gospel, to be absolved 'from all thy sins.'

The internal evidence of the prayer of Absolution, and of the prayer which immediately follows it, perfectly agrees with this interpretation. The minister, in the very act of absolution, knowing that *he has not the power to forgive* sins, thus prays: 'Our LORD JESUS CHRIST *forgive thee thine offences!*' After the act of absolution, the minister, knowing that *he has not forgiven*, and that *God alone* can forgive sins, again prays: 'Forasmuch as he putteth his full trust only in thy mercy, O God, *impute not unto him his former sins!*'

We now proceed to the most unjust charge in this misguiding volume.

5. The church of England

"teaches that *all who die go to HEAVEN*, whatever was THEIR PREVIOUS CHARACTER." (P. 15.)

The Church of England, throughout all her Articles, Liturgy, and Homilies, teaches that none will go to heaven but the faithful and the holy! It were easy to cover our pages with quotations from the whole Prayer Book; we transcribe only one instar omnium from the Athanasian Creed: 'They that have done good shall go into life everlasting; and they that have done evil into everlasting fire.' But in the 'Burial Service' itself, to which the Author of the "Guide" refers, our Church repeatedly teaches that none but the faithful and the holy can enter the kingdom of heaven! "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord." 'Almighty God, with whom do live the spirits of them that *depart hence in the Lord*, and with whom the souls of the *faithful* are in joy and felicity... we beseech thee... that we... with all those that are *departed* in the *true faith* of thy holy name, may have our perfect consummation and bliss in thine eternal glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord.' 'We meekly beseech thee, O Father, *to raise us from the death of sin unto the life of righteousness*, that when we shall depart this life we may *rest in Christ!*' Is it possible that any man, who has ever read these passages in our Burial Service, can deliberately write;

* All sound commentators agree in this interpretation, see Gill, Guyse, Macknight, &c.

print, and publish, that the Church of England, in that Service, "teaches that *all who die go to HEAVEN, WHATEVER WAS THEIR PREVIOUS CHARACTER?*"

The particular expression to which our Author alludes, 'In sure and certain hope of THE resurrection to eternal life,' refers, not to the resurrection of the person buried, but to the *general resurrection*. This is incontrovertibly confirmed by the 'office for the Burial of the dead at sea:' 'We, therefore, commit his body to the deep, to be turned into corruption, looking for the resurrection of the body, (when the sea shall give up her dead,) and the life of the world to come.' Neal, the historian of the Puritans, who, if he be, according to the *Quarterly Review*, 'the most mendacious of historians;' Neal, who, if he can be trusted in nothing else, may be trusted when he is forced to admit something unfavourable to his party; Neal himself allows, that "Hope of resurrection," was altered into "Hope of THE resurrection;" to avoid the objection which our Author makes.* Our readers will, we believe, agree with us, that this charge against the Burial Service of the Church of England, is as unfounded as those which precede it.

'The Church of England

"practises liturgical forms, which *we* deem less edifying than extempore prayer; while....her Liturgy *abounds with vain repetitions*." (P. 16.)

Forms of prayer were employed in the temple service of the Jews. Our Lord himself taught an incomparable *form* of prayer. St. Paul says, "Hold fast the form of sound words." Forms of prayer have been used in the public worship of God from the days of the apostles to the present time. The great and venerable Calvin highly approves of *forms* of public prayer: "Formulam precum, et rituum ecclesiasticorum *valde probo*, ut certa illa exstet, a qua ne pastoribus discedere in functione sua liceat.—Sic igitur statum esse catechismum oportet, statam sacramentorum administrationem, publicam item precum formulam." *Calvini Epistola Protectori Angliæ, 29 Octobris 1548.* "I strongly recommend that there should be a *fixed form of prayer*, and ecclesiastical rites, from which it should not be lawful for the pastors, in the discharge of their office, to depart.—There ought to be an established catechism, an established mode of administering the sacraments, and also a *public form* of prayer." Such is the solemn and deliberate judgment of the learned and pious Calvin. "But *we*," says our Author, "deem *forms* less edifying than

* Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. iv. chap. 6. page 341. (1661.)

extempore prayer!" (P. 16.) Were our Author consistent, he would explode not only *forms of prayer*, but *forms of praise*. It would, in this case, be necessary for Independent ministers not only to make extempore prayers, but extempore verses; and then the Improvisatore would be no longer a phenomenon. Is not Dr. Watts' version of the fifty-first Psalm as much a *form* of prayer as any in our Prayer Book? We know some dissenting ministers, who, speaking contemptuously of forms of prayer, call them '*crutches to enable crippled parsons to walk.*' But if praying be walking, praise must be flying; and those dissenters, 'who disdain crutches when they walk, use crutches when they fly.'

But "the Liturgy abounds with *vain* repetitions!" We wish that these repetitions had been specified. We know of no repetitions in the Liturgy, except of the Lord's prayer, and the repetitions in the Litany and the Decalogue. The repetition of the Lord's prayer, as every one knows, is an accidental circumstance; and we hope that no one will irreverently call the repetition of the Lord's prayer, a *vain* repetition. The repetitions in the Decalogue and Litany are all designed—wisely and piously designed, to excite attention, to interest the affections, and to promote devotion. If the repetitions in the Litany are *vain* repetitions, then not only the repetitions in the 24th, 42nd, 80th, 107th, 136th Psalms, and in many other parts of Scripture, but the awful repetitions of our agonizing Lord in Gethsemane, are vain repetitions!

We challenge the world to produce from an uninspired volume a composition so comprehensive and so condensed; so chastised in feeling and so fervent in devotion; so sublime in sentiment and so simple in language, as the Litany of the Church of England. We ask any man, Is not a form of prayer, carefully composed, and diligently revised, more likely to be free from vain repetitions and incoherency than any extempore prayer? Few dissenting ministers would wish, we conceive, to see their extemporary prayers verbatim in print: but *we* should very much desire to read the prayers of *any* dissenting minister, for one month, just as he uttered them. We know that in some dissenting meetings there is more tautology in one month, than there is in the established church during a whole year. But on this point we will introduce a witness, whose credibility and whose competency Mr. James will, we believe, most readily admit;—we will introduce Mr. James himself.

"Unfortunately for the interests of our prayer meetings, the brethren who lead our devotions, are so *outrageously long and dull*!"
 "We are often prayed into a good frame, and then *prayed out* of it

again." "It is also to be regretted that the prayers are *so much alike in the arrangement of the parts.*" (P. 66, Note.)

Many ministers spend so much of their time at public meetings, and in gossiping from house to house, "that their sermons are poverty itself; or a mere *repetition* of the *same sentiments in the same words.*" (P. 243.)

We may safely conclude that the prayers of such ministers are of the same character as their sermons: "Poverty itself, or a mere repetition of the same sentiments in the same words!" In some dissenting meetings, "The introduction of a *new or original* conception would startle the congregation as much as the *entrance of a spectre!!*" (P. 44.)

7. The Church of England

"multiplies offices in her communion beyond all scriptural precedent, until she has quite secularized her nature and appearance." (16.)

The essential officers of the Church of England are 'Bishops, Priests, and Deacons;' for whose offices we can, we believe, find precedents in Scripture. Presbyters and Deacons only are the essential officers of dissenting churches. The naked question, therefore, between churchmen and dissenters on this point is, Whether Bishops and Presbyters be the same officers? We willingly allow that every Bishop is a Presbyter, but we strongly deny that every Presbyter is a Bishop. "It does not follow that all Presbyters were of the same order with Bishops, merely because Bishops are sometimes included under the name of Presbyters." This argument would prove too much; it would prove that all Presbyters were Apostles. For the Apostle John (2 John 1. 3 John 1.) calls himself a Presbyter; and the Apostle Peter (1 Pet. v. 1.) styles himself a *fellow-Presbyter* [συνπρεσβύτερος] of the Presbyters. But must we hence conclude that *all* Presbyters were Apostles? *

That a Bishop is superior to a Presbyter appears from the memorable fact, allowed by Calvin himself,† that for 1400 years a Christian Church could not be found without a presiding Bishop.

If the plan of Church Government be so plainly revealed in Scripture as Dissenters contend; how did it happen that the plan of governing the Church without Bishops was not discovered for fourteen centuries; and discovered at last only by the turbulent bigot, Robert Brown? That a Bishop is superior to a Presbyter further appears from the almost miraculous preservation of the Syrian Church in the East,

* Calvin's Institutes : B. 4. chap. 4. Section 1. 2. 4.

† Potter on Church Government, pp. 106, &c.

and of the Valdensian Church in the West; neither of which Churches submitted themselves to Antichrist; both of which Churches are to this day Episcopal, and have been Episcopal from the days of the Apostles!

That a Bishop is superior to a Presbyter still further appears from the records of ecclesiastical history, and from the writings of the primitive and apostolic Fathers. Finally—that a Bishop is superior to a Presbyter appears most clearly from the Holy Scriptures: “*For this cause left I thee in Crete that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, [ταλείποντα, things left undone] and ORDAIN ELDERS [πρεσβυτερος] in every city as I had appointed thee.*” (Titus i. 5.) “*I besought thee still to abide at Ephesus*” (where were many Presbyters) “*that thou charge some that they preach no other doctrine:*” παραγγειλης τισι μη ετεροδιδασκαλειν: admonere quosdam ne doctrinam alienam a vera et pura religione Christiana, ab apostolis tradita invehent. Schleusner. (1 Tim. i. 3 and vi. 3.) “*Against a Presbyter receive not an accusation, but before two or three witnesses.*” (1 Tim. v. 19.)

If, then, to *order things left undone*;—if to *ordain Presbyters in every city*; if to *charge Presbyters* to preach sound doctrine; υγιαίνουσ λόγους της τε Κυριας ημών Ιησου Χριστού; if to receive *accusations against presbyters*; if all this does not prove that a Bishop is superior to Presbyters, we know not by what facts superiority can be proved, nor in what language superiority can be expressed!

With respect to temporal or occasional officers, we here only observe, that officers of this kind are as numerous in dissenting churches as in the Church of England. Our Author denounces not only the Episcopal, but also the Presbyterian mode of church government. (P. 5.) Our concern is with the episcopal form of church government; but to those, who wish to know what has been said in favour of the presbyterian mode, we recommend the elaborate, but not unprejudiced Lectures of Campbell on Ecclesiastical History. Or, if our readers have not much dislike of oddity and quaintness, we would refer them to a volume printed in 1646, entitled “*THE UTTER ROUTING of the whole army of all the INDEPENDENTS and SECTARIES, with the total overthrow of their HIERARCHY, that New Babel, more groundless than that of the Prelates.* By JOHN BASTWICK, Captain in the Presbyterian Army, *Doctor in Physick, and Phisitian in Ordinary* to all the *ILL-DEPENDENTS AND SECTARIES, to sweat them with arguments twice a year gratis, spring and fall, &c.*”

8. The Church of England

“by her system of patronage has taken away from the people their

just right to elect their own pastors, and deprived herself of the means of preserving a faithful and holy ministry." (16.)

Our limits forbid us, at present, to discuss the extensive subject of Ecclesiastical Patronage, or of the means of preserving a faithful ministry in the church. But we just remark that bad as may be the Patronage of the Establishment, it is not so vile as in certain dissenting churches, in which our Author tells us, some *Diotrephes*, or "*Lord Deacon*" is the "*Patron of the living!*" "*What!*" exclaims he; "*What!* are we to be obliged to look up to such a man, as our spiritual instructor, because some *profligate creature*, who has the living in his gift, chooses to introduce him to the vacant pulpit?" A "*profligate creature*" may be the patron of an episcopal living. But what sort of creature is he, so common, as our Author writes, in dissenting churches, who, besides being "*the Patron of the Living,*" is "*the Bible of the Minister,* and the *Wolf of the Flock?*" With regard to the best means of preserving a faithful ministry in the church, we would also remark, that our Author in his book clearly and sorrowfully shews, that those means are not found among the Independents!

9. The Church of England

"has corrupted the communion of the saints by the indiscriminate admission of persons of all characters to the Lord's table." (16.)

When our author advanced this confident charge against the established church, he had not, we believe, even read the rubrics prefixed to her communion service.

'¶ So many as intend to be partakers of the holy Communion shall signify their names to the curate, at least some time the day before.'

'¶ And if any of those be an open and notorious liver, or have done any wrong to his neighbours by word or deed, so that the congregation be thereby offended; the Curate having knowledge thereof, shall call him and advertise him, that in any wise he presume not to come to the Lord's Table, until he openly hath declared himself to have truly repented and amended his former naughty life, &c.'

'¶ The same order shall the Curate use with those betwixt whom he perceiveth malice and hatred to reign; not suffering them to be partakers of the Lord's Table until he know them to be reconciled, &c.'

We shall see presently whether dissenting churches, if our Author be a credible witness, be not themselves guilty of "corrupting the communion of saints," by wilfully admitting "rich, but unsanctified members to the Lord's Supper." (Pp. 252, 253.) And we ask, do such "unsanctified" persons,

before they partake of the Lord's Supper, ever hear in dissenting churches, so awful a warning as they would hear, were they 'to presume to eat of that bread and to drink of that cup' at the communion of the Church of England? 'For as the benefit is great, if with a true penitent heart and lively faith we receive that holy sacrament; so is the danger great if we receive the same unworthily. For then we are guilty of the body and blood of Christ our Saviour, we eat and drink our own damnation, not considering the Lord's body; we provoke Him to plague us with divers diseases and sundry kinds of death. Judge, therefore, yourselves, brethren, that ye be not judged of the Lord.' (Exhortation at Communion Service.)

In repelling these objections against the venerable and scriptural Establishment of the Church of England, we felt it our duty to 'gang warily,' lest in the midst of such strong provocations, we should indulge an unchristian spirit, or utter an unchristian expression: but having crossed the more 'debatable' and dangerous ground, we shall now march more at our ease.

Having thus gone over our Author's list of grievances, we come, next, to his statement of the principles of Dissent: which is couched in the following terms.

1. "The all-sufficiency and exclusive authority of the Scriptures as a rule of faith and practice in matters of religion."

2. "The consequent denial of the right of legislatures and ecclesiastical conventions to impose any rites, ceremonies, observances, or interpretations of the word of God, upon our belief and practice."

3. "The unlimited and inalienable right of every man to expound the word of God for himself; and to worship his Maker in that place and manner which he deems to be most accordant with the directions of the Bible."

4. "The utter impropriety of any alliance or incorporation of the church of Christ with the governments or the kingdoms of this world."

5. "The duty of every christian to oppose the authority which would attempt to fetter his conscience with obligations to religious observances not enjoined by Christ." (15.)*

Two of these principles, the 1st, respecting "the all-sufficiency of Scripture;" and the 3rd, concerning "the right of every man to expound the word of God for himself," are the recognized principles of our own Church. "Holy Scripture," she teaches in her 6th Article, "containeth *all things necessary to salvation* : so that *whatsoever* is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of *any* man, that it should

* Every reader of this statement of Dissenting principles might infer from it that the Church of England not only denied the sufficiency of the Scriptures as a rule of faith and practice; but refused to tolerate the worship of nonconformists, and attempted to fetter the consciences of men!!

be believed as an Article of Faith." In her first Homily she strongly urges every man to read and expound the word of God for himself. These two principles being quietly restored to the Church of England, the principles of Dissent are diminished to three; and these three naturally resolve themselves into one, namely, That all national establishments of religion whatever, are unlawful. For, says our Author,

"The general principles of Dissent lead a nonconformist to separate from all national establishments of religion whatever." (15.)

If, therefore, dissent be a duty, religious establishments are clearly unlawful.

This great principle of dissenters concerning religious establishments, together with their minor principles respecting the nature of a Christian Church, and of the order of Christian Deacons, we shall now proceed to examine.

1. Their principle concerning *establishments of religion*. The instance of the Jews proves the lawfulness, expediency, and advantages of a religious establishment. Their religion was established; and their establishment was national. Church and state with them were allied; were incorporated; were one. God himself was the King, and the head both of Church and State. Were it not, therefore, an impeachment of divine wisdom, and a reflection on divine goodness, to assert the unlawfulness of *all* religious establishments? The argument derived from the Jewish establishment can be repelled only by denying, what no one acquainted with scripture will deny, that God was the supreme civil magistrate of the Jews. "God himself," writes Dr. Watts, "when he was the king of the Jews, or *their Civil Ruler*, appointed one day in seven for the repose of man and beast." Again—"God was *their political Head*, and their King; and, therefore, their civil and religious concerns are intermingled in the same pages of the Bible."* "Jehovah," says Dr. Doddridge, "was not only the great object of religious regard to the Jews; but he was also their *supreme Civil Magistrate*."† Again,

The Prophet, "rapt into future times," foretold the increase and the glory of the Church: "And Kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and their Queens thy nursing mothers." Is it then, unlawful for Christian Rulers to establish and "nurture" religion in their dominions? Is it a duty to separate from all religious establishments, which have been formed by the "nursing fathers" of the church? Or, is dissent from the religious establishment of a pious Ruler the best way to

* Watts's Works, 8vo. vol. III. pp. 338. 359.

† Doddridge's Works, 8vo. vol. II. p. 443.

second his scriptural plans of "nursing" religion in his realms?

Dr. John Owen,—in whom Dissenters justly glory;—who, though he were strangely infatuated with the fierce, political religion of his times, was yet an incomparable divine and most exemplary Christian :—Dr. Owen in "a sermon preached before the Long Parliament, Oct. 13, 1652," labours to prove "The power of the civil magistrate about the things of the worship of God." "Some think," says he, "if you [the rebel parliament] were well settled, you ought not, as *rulers of the nations*, to put forth *your power for the interest of Christ*. *The good Lord keep your hearts from that apprehension!* Have you ever in your affairs, received any encouragement from the promises of God? Have you in times of greatest distress been refreshed with the testimony of a good conscience, that in simplicity and godly sincerity you have sought the advancement of the Lord Jesus Christ? Do you believe that he ever owned '*The cause,*' [the Rebellion!] as the Head of his Church? Do not now profess you have nothing to do with him: Had He so professed of you and your affairs, what had been your portion long since."* Again: "If it once comes to this, that you shall say, *You have nothing to do with religion as rulers of the nation*, God will quickly manifest that he hath nothing to do *with you as rulers of the nation*. Certainly it is *incumbent* on you to take care that the faith, which was once delivered to the saints, in all the necessary concerns of it, may be *protected, preserved, propagated* to and among the people, over which God hath set you, If a father as a father is bound to do what answers this in his own family unto his children; a master as a master to his servants :—If you will justify yourselves as fathers or rulers of your country, you'll find in your account this to be incumbent on you."†

This argument a fortiori of Dr. Owen from the father of a family to the father of his country, is absolutely invincible. Dean Milner in his triumphant dissertation on church establishments adopts the same mode of reasoning. We cannot spare room for quotations from this unanswerable production; but we earnestly recommend its perusal to our readers.‡ It is remarkable that Dr. Owen, the republican dean of Christ Church, and Dr. Milner, the loyal dean of Carlisle, should in their reasonings on ecclesiastical establishments be so nearly agreed.

* Owen's Sermons, Vol. II. p. 96.

† Ibid, pp. 113, 114.

‡ Milner's Ch. Hist. Vol. II. p. 209.

But we now come to the principle of Dissenters respecting *a Christian Church*.

"What is a Christian Church?" (inquires our author,) "It has," (he replies,) "an enlarged, and also a more confined signification in the word of God.—In some places it is employed to comprehend the aggregate of believers of every age and nation; hence we read of the 'general assembly and church of the first-born,' and of the 'church which Christ loved and purchased with His own blood. In its more confined acceptation, it means a *congregation* of professing Christians meeting for worship in *one place*; hence we read of the Church at Rome, Colosse, Phillippi &c. These are the *only two senses* in which the word is ever employed by the sacred writers; consequently all provincial and national churches; or in other words, to call the people of a province or nation a church of Christ, is a most gross perversion of the term, and rendering the kingdom of Jesus more a matter of geography than of religion. The sacred writers, when speaking of the Christians of a whole province, *never* employ the term in the singular number, but *with great precision of language* speak of the churches of Galatia, Syria, Macedonia, Asia, &c." (Pp. 6, 7.)

Again:

"When a Church becomes too large to communicate at *one table*, and divides to eat the Lord's Supper in *two* distinct places of worship, there are *two* churches, and no longer *one* only." (P. 9.)

This language is as offensive in its tone, as it is positive in its assertions; but overlooking its offensiveness, and noticing only its assertions, we will shew, 1st. That the word Church in scripture has more than *two* significations:—2dly, That Mr. James, in ignorance or in haste, has misquoted or misrepresented the scriptures:—and 3dly, That in what is called in scripture "*a church*," there may be several congregations. On this definition of a Christian church, as containing only *one congregation*, the peculiar scheme of Independency is founded. If it can, then, be shewn that this scheme is unsupported by scripture, Independency will be utterly without a foundation.

Now on this point we must observe,

First, that the word, Church, in scripture, has *more than two significations*.

It signifies, (1.) *All the people of God*, of all climes and ages, from the beginning to the end of the world: "Christ is the head of the body, *the Church*," Col. i. 18. See also Heb. xii. 23. Acts xxii. 28. It signifies, (2.) *The faithful Christians of some one district or province*: "Paul and Sylvanus unto the Church of the Thessalonians," 2 Thes. i. 1. "Now, *ye Philippians*, know also that no Church communicated with me—but *ye* only," Phil. iv. 15. It signifies, (3.) *A number of believers*, called by divine grace out of the world,

and *worshipping God in one place*: "The Church at Jerusalem," Acts viii. 1. It signifies, (4.) *The Christians of one family*, who, with a few other Christians, were wont to meet for divine worship in a house: "*The Church in his house*," Rom. xvi. 5. It signifies, (5.) *The governors of the Church*: "Tell it to *the Church*," Matt. xviii. 17. Our readers may now decide whether the word Church has NEVER more than two significations?

Secondly: Our Author *misquotes*, or *misrepresents* Scripture.

"Hence," says he, "we read of the Church at Rome, Colosse, Phillippi," &c. (Philippi.) We *do not* read in the New Testament of the Church at Rome; or of the Church at Colosse; or of the Church at Philippi! The Epistle to the *Romans* is addressed, "To *all* that be at Rome, beloved of God, called to be saints:" the Epistle to the *Philippians*, "To *all the saints* in Christ Jesus, which are at Philippi:" and the Epistle to the *Colossians*, "To the saints and faithful brethren in Christ, which are at Colosse." So much, in quoting Scripture, for "great precision of language." (James, p. 7.)

Thirdly: What in Scripture is called a Church, *contains more than one congregation*.

Was there only *one* congregation of Christians in the Church at Jerusalem? When we read so often of the breaking of bread, or the receiving of the Lord's Supper in that Church, was this bread always broken,—this Supper always received, in *one* place? Five hundred brethren at once beheld our Lord after his resurrection, 1 Cor. xv. 6. After St. Peter's sermon, "three thousand souls *were added* to the Church," Acts ii. 41. Soon afterwards, "the number of the men who believed was about five thousand," Acts iv. 4. "The number of the disciples still *multiplied* in Jerusalem *greatly*; and a *great company* of the priests was obedient to the faith," Acts vi. 7. And, "seest thou how many *tens of thousands* [πέντε μυριάδες]" perhaps forty or fifty thousands, "of Jews there are which believe?" Acts xxi. 20.—Making every fair allowance for strangers, our Author will find a little difficulty in proving that these myriads of Christians at Jerusalem formed only *one* congregation, and received the Lord's Supper at *one* table! Here we might safely dismiss this question; but we have further, and, as we think, stronger proof.

In Romans xvi. 3, we read, "Greet the Church which is in their house." Now, we contend that unless *all* the Christians of Rome met in the house of Priscilla and Aquila, there must have been at least two congregations, and *two Churches* at Rome. Again, in 1 Cor. xvi. 19, we read, "Aquila and

Priscilla salute you much in the Lord, with the Church which is in their house." The First Epistle to the Corinthians was written from Ephesus, (1 Cor. xvi. 8.) And unless all the Church, or all the Christians in this city could assemble in the house of Aquila and Priscilla, there must have been two congregations or two Churches at Ephesus. Yet these two Churches are but *one* Church: "Unto the angel of *the Church of Ephesus* write," Rev. ii. 1. Further: in Philemon, 2, we read, "Paul and Timothy unto Philemon, our dearly beloved, and fellow-labourer, and to the Church in his house." Philemon dwelt at Colosse; * and unless his house could contain all the Christian believers at Colosse, there must have been more than one congregation or one Church in that city. Finally: in Col. iv. 15, we read, "Salute Nymphas and the Church which is in his house." Nymphas must have resided at Colosse, or at Laodicea, Col. ii. 1. iv. 16; and unless all the Christians at Laodicea, or at Colosse, could worship in the house of Nymphas, there must have been at Colosse, or at Laodicea, two congregations or two Churches. Yet these two Churches, in Scripture are called *one* Church: "To the angel of *the Church in Laodicea*, write," Rev. iii. 14. We conclude, that our Author's definition of a Church is indefensible, and that the peculiar scheme of Independency has no basis in Scripture.

We hasten to examine

3. The principles or opinions of Dissenters regarding the character and office of Deacons.

"God instituted, (says our author,) but two kinds of *permanent* officers in His church, Bishops and Deacons; the former to attend to its spiritual affairs, and the latter to direct its temporal concerns." (P. 10.)

"The Deacon is appointed to receive and distribute the funds of the church, especially those which are raised for the relief of the poor." (P. 11.)

"The table of the poor is the Deacon's appropriate and exclusive duty." (P. 148.)

"But the Church of England, which retains many of *the corruptions of her relation at Rome*, has imitated her in the total alteration of this office." (P. 146.)

Not content with this unchristian condemnation, he proceeds to ridicule:—

"In that communion the deacon is *half* priest,—*half* layman, and does not altogether put off the *laic*, nor put on the *cleric* character, till his second ordination." (P. 146.)

* "The Letter to Philemon, and that to the Colossians were written at the same time, and sent by the same messenger, the one to a particular inhabitant, the other to the Church of Colosse." *Paley's Horæ Paulinæ.*

We know not whence Dissent has borrowed her *corruptions*, nor what *relative* she has imitated in the total alteration of the office of dissenting Deacons! but Mr. James has told the world that

“ the Deacon of some dissenting churches is *the Bible of the Minister, the Patron of the Living, and the Wolf of the Flock!!* ” (P. 146.)

The deacons of Dissent, and the deacons of the Church of England, whom our author ridicules, are, indeed, totally distinct; but not more distinct than the seven holy men mentioned in Acts vi.; and the deacons described by St. Paul in 1 Tim. iii. 8.

The seven holy men mentioned in Acts vi. are never called Deacons. They were appointed on a singular occasion to an extraordinary office. Their office was altogether worldly and temporary. But the persons described by St. Paul are repeatedly called Deacons;—they are probationers for a higher degree. They were appointed as ordinary and permanent officers of the church. And as the qualifications of Deacons are nearly the same as the qualifications of Bishops, the fair inference is that their office is of the same kind, that is, a spiritual office. Let any one read, without bias, the accounts as they stand in the scriptures, and he will be astonished that the temporary office of the seven holy men in the Church of Jerusalem, should ever have been confounded with the permanent office of the deacons of St. Paul!*

We have now shewn that an Established Religion is lawful, expedient, and scriptural;—that the Deacons of Dissenting Churches are not the Deacons described by the Apostle;—and that the peculiar scheme of church government, called Independency, has no foundation in the Holy Scriptures.

But we come now to shew, that the *practice of Dissenters is at variance with their avowed principles.*

They maintain, according to our author, that Christ has revealed in the New Testament a clear and accurate scheme of church government:—a scheme, which they scrupulously maintain, but which churchmen ‘ grossly ’ violate.

“ Christ has laid down rules for the government of his church.” (P. 189.)

“ In the whole business of church government;—we are to acknowledge the authority of Christ;—in all things we are to be guided by the law of Jesus laid down in his word.” (P. 183.—see Pp. 4, 5, 10, 17, 184, &c. &c.)

We will now notice some instances of their inconsistency.

1. Their practice is inconsistent with their principles in *the choice of their ministers.*

* See Hey's Tracts: Pp. 591, &c.

Every Christian has a right to choose his own minister. (P. 214.) But our author tells us that the minister may be appointed before the church is formed ! (P. 215.)

He further tells us that in the election of ministers sometimes "only trustees vote;"—sometimes "only male subscribers;"—sometimes "female subscribers;"—and sometimes "seat-holders generally, including *Arians* and *Socinians*!" Ministers are to be invited to vacant churches, to be tried and compared by the congregation before they are chosen. (Pp. 214—220. 223—234.)

Now we ask—Are *all* these modes,—or is *any one* of these modes of electing ministers, revealed in the New Testament? In what part of the New Testament is it revealed that "trustees," or "members," or "male subscribers," or "female subscribers," or "seat-holders," or "*Arians* and *Socinians*," should vote in the election of a Christian pastor? Where is it written in the New Testament that ministers are to be "invited," "tried," and compared; and after "three months" probation and comparison, to be elected or rejected? Our author candidly confesses,—but the confession is at the expense of consistency,—

"that no case occurs in the inspired History, where it is mentioned that a church elected its own pastor!" (P. 12.)

But a case *does occur* in that History of an apostle ordaining a bishop without any election, and then commanding that bishop, as in our own church, to ordain faithful men for the work of the ministry.

"It not unfrequently happens that members secede, because a pastor is chosen, whose election they cannot approve." (P. 211.)

To be consistent with their own principle, *all the minority* ought to secede; except they can acknowledge the *minister against whom they have been voting, as the minister of their choice*! On this principle, churches may divide and subdivide, and divide and subdivide again, until some happy individual becomes a church, and prays, and preaches, and administers the Lord's supper—to himself! Thus it happens that erroneous principles lead to conclusions not only inconsistent, but absurd and impracticable.

2. Their practice is inconsistent with their principles *in regard to the officers of their churches.*

"The deacon is to direct the temporal affairs of the church." (P. 10.)

"But by the *usages* of our churches many things have been *added* to the duties of the office *beyond its original design*." (P. 147.)

"Deacons, though their office be altogether of a *temporal* nature, will be considered" by the minister, "as a *privy council in spiritual government*." (P. 152.)

Where, we ask, is the scriptural warrant for "adding to the paramount duty of deacons?" (P. 148.)

Where is the consistency of converting a *temporal* officer into a privy *spiritual* counsellor? And how can dissenters profess to be in *all* things, respecting church government, "guided by the law of Jesus as laid down in his word," and yet make "additions to the office of deacons, *beyond its original design?*"

Our author condemns the church of England "for multiplying offices in her communion beyond scriptural precedent." (P. 16.)

but in his own book he mentions the following officers of dissenting churches: "lord deacons," (P. 147.) and "leading members," (P. 250.) "Committees," and "Chairmen," (Pp. 147. 185.) "presidents," and "privy-counsellors," (Pp. 186. 152.) and "Trustees." Where, we ask again, are the "scriptural precedents" for these officers of dissenting churches? How dim-sighted is prejudice and how inconsistent is error!

3. Their practice is inconsistent with their principles *in respect to the admission of members.*

"Members," says our author, "are sometimes admitted after examination before the whole body of the brethren;"—sometimes after a private examination by a deputation of the church; and sometimes after the "written statements" of the candidate have been publicly read and discussed in church meetings, (Pp. 191—193.) Where in the New Testament is a candidate for church communion required to be examined before the "whole body of the brethren;" or by a "deputation" of the church? Where is he enjoined by Holy Scripture "to write a statement" to be read in a church meeting? We answer in the words of our author,

"No instance can be brought from the New Testament." (P. 8.)

"Scripture is silent on the subject." (P. 192.)

"No case in the New Testament?" "Scripture *silent* on the subject?" And yet we are authoritatively told, "that *every thing*" in dissenting churches, is done after "the law of Jesus laid down in his word!" (P. 183.)

4. Their practice is inconsistent with their principles with *reference to the reception of communicants at the table of the Lord.*

While our author strongly condemns the Church of England for indiscriminately receiving persons of all characters to the Lord's table, (P. 16.) he strongly insinuates that the Lord's table among dissenters is perfectly undefiled. But in other parts of his volume we are told, that

"Gossips and tattlers disturb our churches." (P. 112.) "Some members are card players, and Sunday travellers." (P. 64. 66.) "*Discipline is relaxed to admit wealthy members of unsanctified dispositions.*" (P. 252.) "Some (members) there are, who betray their Master for a less sum, than that which Judas set upon his blood!" (P. 49.)

And yet these "gossips and tattlers;" these "card players and Sunday travellers;" these "wealthy unsanctified persons"—and these "betrayers of their Lord"—are *all* indiscriminately admitted, in dissenting churches, to the table of the Lord!! Nay, are not "some *immoral*" ministers, "attaching a party to themselves," retained in their churches? (Pp. 245, 246.) And do not those *immoral* ministers administer and receive the Lord's supper?—Where, then, we ask, is the vaunted purity of Christian communion in dissenting churches? Where is the consistency of accusing the Church of England of corrupting the communion of the saints? "And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but perceivest not the beam that is in thine own eye? Either how canst thou say to thy brother, Brother, let me pull out the mote that is in thine eye, when thou thyself beholdest not the beam that is in thine own eye?" Luke vi. 41, 42.

On the whole; the practice of Dissenters is at variance with their avowed scriptural principles,—in the election of ministers; in the admission of members; in the duties of church officers; and in the reception of communicants at the table of the Lord!—Where, then, we inquire, is the scheme of church government so clearly revealed in the New Testament? Where is this scheme so accurately observed by Dissenters? To what denomination of nonconformists must we look for a correct exemplification of this scheme? To the Presbyterians or to the Independents? To the Wesleyans, or to the Baptists? If to the Baptists; to which division? To the general, or to the particular? To those of open, or to those of close communion?

Our author seems, indeed, aware of the inconsistency between the practice and the principles of Dissenters in reference to church government; and in the course of his various discussions, is often forced to forsake his dissenting positions.

"It might be presumed *a priori* that a matter of such moment, (as church government,) would not be left unsettled.".... "It is true that we shall search the New Testament *in vain* for either precedent or practice, which will support *all the usages* of our churches, any otherwise than as these usages are deduced from the spirit and bearing of *general principles.*" (P. 5.)

Hence he endeavours to support "*these usages*" by argu-

ments a priori ; (P. 5.) by "general principles ;" by "reason ;" by "analogy ;" by "expediency ;" and by the "principles of independency."—(Pp. 5, 216, 217, 241.) But here he abandons the great principles of Dissent ; and, with the exception of "the principles of Independency," of which we never heard before, he writes as a churchman would write on different things ; only he writes without those admirable guards, which the churchman finds in the Articles of his church, "that *nothing* be ordained contrary to God's word ;" (Art. xx.) "and that *all things* be done to edifying." (Art. xxxvi.) For want of these two guards, how often have dissenting ministers turned aside to vain jangling, while their unhappy churches have sunk into the cold swamp of Socinianism.

We cannot close Mr. James's volume, without attempting to bring together into one view, the various lights which he throws upon the real nature of Dissent, while treating of the different duties of "Church members."—And, first, of the *Election of Dissenting Ministers*.

"When a minister is removed,—the choice of a successor *always* brings on a *crisis* in the history of the [vacant] church".... "No event that could happen can place the interest of the society in *greater peril* !!" (Guide, p. 223, 224.) "The feeling of *too many* of our members may be thus summarily expressed, 'I will have my way ;'—such a spirit is the source of all the evils, to which our churches are *ever* exposed ; and of which, it must be confessed, they are but *too frequently the miserable victims* !" (P. 233.) "Distraction and division of churches have frequently resulted from the election of ministers."

P. 223.) At this "perilous crisis," (P. 224.) "*secret canvassing*," (P. 228.) "*cabals, intrigues* (P. 229.) and the most *disgusting exercise* of the most *disgusting tyranny*" between opposing "parties take place." (P. 231.) "If the two parties cannot *unite* in peace, let them at least *separate* in peace. Alas ! that this should so *rarely be the case*." (P. 233.) "Divisions in our churches produce *incalculable mischief* ; since they not only prevent the *growth* of religion, but *impair and destroy it*." (P. 240.) Sometimes the *majority yields to the minority*." (P. 230.) "In some cases a division is necessary ;" (P. 233.) "and the minority separates ;" and then "how much *ill will* and *antichristian* feeling—what *envies*, and *jealousies*, and *evil speakings* commence and continue !" (P. 232.) "We have been accused of *wrangling* about a Teacher of Religion, till we have lost our religion *in the affray* ; and the state of *many* of our congregations proves that the charge is not altogether *without foundation*." (P. 223.)

2. Of Ministers of Dissenting Churches.

"Churches tempt *students* to leave their colleges before the term of their education has been completed." (P. 243.) "A defective education not unfrequently prepares a minister to be the cause of much uneasiness in a Christian church." (P. 241.) "For want of ministerial

diligence the sermons of some ministers are *poverty itself, a mere repetition of the same sentiments in the same words.*" (P. 243.) "*I believe one half of our church quarrels originate in lazy loitering ministers!*" (P. 244.) "Some ministers plunge themselves in debt, or involve themselves in politics, or marry unsuitable persons;" (P. 244.) "others are of bad temper"—"so that *a fire of contention is soon kindled, and the whole church is enveloped in the flames!*" (Pp. 244, 245.) "Others are *immoral!!*" "Yet attaching to themselves a party" *are retained in the church!!* (P. 245.) Others are tenacious of their situations" (P. 246.) "beyond the period of seven years." (P. 248.) "After all I am constrained to confess that the darkness, which rests upon the mind of the church member is the result of that cloudiness, which envelops the mind of the pastor: if there is ignorance in the pew, it is because there is so little knowledge in the pulpit. When the preacher dwells on nothing but a few common place topics of an experimental or consolatory nature; while all the varied and sublime parts of revealed truth are neglected for one eternal round of beaten subjects; when a text is selected from time to time, which requires no study to understand, no ability to expound; when nothing is heard from one Sabbath to another but the same sentiments in the same words, until the introduction of a new or original conception would startle the congregation almost as much as the entrance of a spectre; who can wonder if, under such circumstances, the congregation should grow tired of their preacher; or if such drowsy tinkling should 'lull the fold' till with their shepherd they sink to the slumbers of indifference, amidst the thickening gloom of religious ignorance." (Pp. 43. 44.)

3. Of Deacons of dissenting Churches.

"I have known instances, where through first the neglect and then the refusal (of deacons) to render an account" of money; "the affairs of religious societies have been carried into chancery, and *strife, ill-will, confusion, and every evil work* have sprung up in the church!" (P. 150.) Some "deacons make kindness and assistance a cloak for their own tyranny; or a silken web to wind round the *fetters*, they are preparing for the *slavery of their pastor!*" (P. 153.) For "what is the deacon of some of our *dissenting* communities? the *patron of the living, the bible of the minister, and the wolf of the flock!* an individual, who, thrusting himself into the *seat of government*, attempts to *lord it over God's heritage*, by dictating alike to the pastor and the members;—who thinks that in virtue of his office his opinion is *to be law in all matters* of church government, whether *temporal or spiritual*; who upon the least symptom of opposition to his will, frowns like a tyrant upon the spirit of *rising rebellion among his slaves!!* Such men there have been, whose spirit of domination in the church has produced a kind of *diaconophobia* in the minds of many ministers, who have suffered most woefully from their bite, and have been led to resolve to do without them altogether, rather than be *worried* any more!! Hence it is, that in some cases the *unscriptural* plan of committees has been resorted to, that the tyranny of *Lord-Deacons* might be avoided!" (Pp. 146, 147.)

Of Members of dissenting Churches.

"They are frequently *hasty* in the choice of a pastor;" (P. 247.) and "soon grow *tired* of the man whom they choose (chose) at first with every demonstration of sincere and strong regard. They seldom approve a minister beyond a period of *seven years*; and are so *uniform* in the term of their satisfaction as to make their neighbours look out for a change, when that term is about to expire." (P. 248.) "It is to the deep, and wide, and eternal reproach of some churches that though possessed of ability, they dole out but a wretched pittance from their affluence, leaving their ministers to make up the deficiency by a school, and then with insulting cruelty complain that their sermons are *very meagre*, and have a *great sameness*." "A congregation, allowing their minister *ten pounds* a year, and who left him to the toils of a school to supply the deficiency, sent a deputation to complain that his sermons were poor. 'Very true,' replied the good man, 'my sermons are not so good as they should be, but I dare say they are as good as any *ten pound* preacher in the kingdom delivers.'" (P. 78.) "They love their minister dearly with their lips, but hate him as cordially with their pockets." "They treat him as they would wild beasts, which are tamed into submission by hunger, and keep him humble by keeping him poor! It is curious to hear how some persons will entreat of God to bless their minister in his basket, and his store, while, alas! poor man, they have taken care that his basket should be empty, and his store nothingness itself!" Pp. 78, 79.) "They have seen him struggling with the cares of an increasing family, and marked the cloud of gloom as it thickened and settled on his brow: they knew his wants, and yet, though able to double his salary, and dissipate every anxious thought, they have refused to advance his stipend, and have robbed him of his comfort, either to gratify their avarice, or to indulge their sensuality!!" (P. 248.)

"In many of our churches the pastor is depressed far below his level. He has no official distinction or authority. He may flatter like a sycophant, beg like a servant, or woo like a lover!! but he is not permitted to enjoin like a ruler. His opinion is received with no deference, his person is treated with no respect, and in presence of some of his lay tyrants he is only permitted to peep and mutter from the dust!" (P. 60.) He is exposed to their "whispers, inuendoes, significant nods, and slanderous silence." (P. 76.) "They treat him as if he could feel nothing but blows; they are rude, uncourteous, churlish." (P. 62.) They send him "anonymous and insulting letters; young, impertinent, and dictatorial persons wait upon him; and those who have nothing to recommend them but their impudence and officiousness school him in an objurgatory strain." (P. 249, 250.)—Some are "petulant and irascible. I would have a text of Scripture written upon a label, and tied upon the foreheads of such persons; and it should be this, '*Beware of dogs!*'" (P. 99, 100.) "Few circumstances tend more to disturb the harmony of our churches than a gossiping and tatling (gossiping and tattling) disposition." (P. 112.)

"And many disguise their backbiting disposition in affected lamenta-

tion." (P. 115.) "Third persons, whose ears are ever open to catch reports should be avoided as the plague: they are mischief-makers and quarrel-mongers; and the very *pests of our churches!*" (P. 102.) "A little inclemency of weather, or the slightest indisposition of body is sure to render the seats of some of our members vacant."—"Tell it not in Gath! Publish it not in the streets of Askelon! *many professors do not scruple to devote a part of the sabbath to travelling!*" (P. 64.) And "the pastor" going on week days "to the house of God" meets some of his "members hastening to parties of pleasure, "or sees them in circles of gaiety, possibly—at cards!" (P. 66.) "How can that professing christian enjoy the roasted joint, when he remembers that his servant has been profaning the Lord's day to prepare the feast? He comes perhaps from the sacramental table, and, in the hearing of his domestics talks of the precious season he has experienced, while *they* revile, as disgusting cant, the religious conversation of the man, who *robs their souls* to pamper his appetite!" (P. 160.) "It is *dreadful*, but not *uncommon*, for children to employ themselves in contrasting the appearance which their parents make *at the Lord's table*, and *at their own; in the house of God*, and *at home.*" (P. 157.) "Discipline is relaxed to admit wealthy members of unsanctified dispositions." (Pp. 252, 253.) "*Few* are the churches, whose records will not furnish in sentences of suspension and excommunication, the melancholy memorials of commercial disruption." (P. 178.) "Some (members) betray their Master for a less sum than that which Judas set upon his blood; and for a tithe of 30 pieces of silver will be guilty of an action, which, they must know at the time, will provoke the severest invective, and bitterest sarcasm against all religion." (P. 49.) "But after all, the grand source of ecclesiastical distractions is, the very feeble operation of Christian principles on the hearts of church members." (P. 257.) "Alas! alas! how many of *our churches present at this moment the sad spectacle of a house divided against itself!*" (P. 240.)

5. Of Meetings of Dissenting Churches.

"Church meetings have exhibited scenes of confusion little commendatory of the *democratic form of church government*," (P. 185.) "Instead of seeking the good of the whole, the *feeling of too many of our members is, 'I will have my way.'* Such a spirit is the source of all the evils to which our churches are *ever exposed*, and of which, *it must be confessed*, they are but *too frequently* THE MISERABLE VICTIMS!!" "What can be more indecorous than to see a stripling standing up at a church meeting, and with confidence and flippancy opposing his views to those of a disciple old enough to be his grandfather?" (P. 96.)—when church meetings become "a court of *common pleas*;" (P. 109.)—and it is necessary "*to bind over to keep the peace?*" (P. 256.)

Individual members of property, carrying the spirit of the world into the church, "endeavour to subjugate both the minister and the people." (P. 250.) "When they are resisted, they breathe out threats of giving up *all interest in church affairs*; at which the *terrified* and servile society end

their resistance, consolidate the power of their tyrant, (tyrants ?) and rivet the fetters of slavery upon their own necks. At length, however, a rival power springs up; —opposition commences;—the church is divided into factions; the minister becomes involved in the dispute; distraction follows;—and division finishes the scene! Lamentable state of things! *Would God it RARELY occurred!!*" (P. 251.)

6. *False Doctrines of Dissenting Churches.*

"*Creeping reptiles infest* our churches, and perpetually insinuate that their ministers do not preach the Gospel;—because they have *dared* to enforce the *moral law* as the rule of a believer's conduct." (P. 76.) "This antinomian spirit has become the *pest of many churches.*" (P. 76.) "Oftentimes has this elfish spirit [of antinomianism] risen up to be the tormentor of *the father* that begat him; but if quiet till *his* head was beneath the clods of the valley, he'" [the elfish spirit,] "*has possessed and convulsed* the church during the time of his successor." (P. 255.) "But the *chief source of Antinomianism* is **THE PULPIT!!**" (P. 256.)

"Miserable efforts are made by some professing Christians to be thought people of taste and fashion;—but when a worldly temper has crept into the circle of a christian church, piety retires before it, and the *spirit of error* soon enters to take possession of the *desolate heritage.*" (P. 158.) "Extreme cases may occur in which a *majority* of the people wish to introduce **HETERODOX** sentiments." (P. 247.) "I have known instances in which ministers of great eminence and influence have suffered individuals (of erroneous sentiments) to *remain in communion* for the sake of peace; and have trusted to their own authority to prevent the mischief from spreading. This, however, is chaining the *fiend*, not casting him out; and leaving him to burst his fetters, when the hand which held him in vassalage is paralyzed by death; and leaving him to *waste and devour* the church under a younger or inferior minister." (P. 257.) "In this way, **SUCH NUMBERS** of once orthodox places, have fallen into the possession of those who *oppose the truth as it is in Jesus.*" "Many pulpits now devoted to the propagation of **UNITARIAN DOCTRINE,**" were "once the fountains of *purser principles!*" (P. 217.)

7. *The conduct of Dissenting churches toward one another.*

"It does not unfrequently happen when two or more churches of the *same* denomination exist in a town, a *most unhappy, unscriptural, disgraceful temper* is manifested towards each other. *All the feelings of envy, jealousy, and ill-will, are cherished and displayed with as much*" (as,) "*or more bitterness than TWO RIVAL TRADESMEN WOULD EXHIBIT* IN THE MOST DETERMINED OPPOSITION OF INTERESTS! This is *peculiarly* the case, *where two churches have been formed by a SCHISM** out of one. *Oftentimes the FEUD has been perpetuated through one generation, and has been BEQUEATHED to the generation following!!!*" (P. 126.) "I have known cases in which both the

* It is *schism*, then, to "form two dissenting congregations out of one!" but it is *not schism* to form a dissenting congregation out of the Church of England!!"

minister and his flock have *refused even the civilities of ordinary intercourse* to those who have left *their church* to associate with another!" (P. 130.)*

Earnestly recommending our readers to study this picture delineated in the pages of Mr. James, we hasten, without making a single remark upon it, to conclude.

We have left ourselves little room to make any observations on the literary character of the work; but one or two points cannot be passed over. The following passages, for instance, are far from creditable to the writer.

"We offer," says he, "these reasons of dissent to the public, and invite for them the *severest scrutiny*, being *confident* of their truth. We have examined them *ourselves*, and wish others to investigate them also, being assured that the more they are examined the more they will be approved." (P. 16.)

Again:—

"In sending another of his mental offspring to be tried at the bar of criticism, he is, shall he say, *too proud* to ask that it might obtain mercy, for the *critic's chair* should not be a *throne of grace*, but a *bench of justice*; the only message which he sends with it to the scrutiny is, 'fiat justitia.' If it be doomed to *execution*, and shall be found deserving of so untimely and dishonourable a grave, (death?) however its parent might lament that it had given birth to a child, that was unworthy to live, he has still enough of *Roman virtue*, to consent to its death!" (Preface, p. vii.)

This passage is as void of taste as it is of humility; and as incorrect in language, as it is revolting in sentiment. When did a follower of the lowly Jesus boast of his *Roman virtue*? What has a Christian minister to do with *pride*? When was the "*throne of grace*," so irreverently placed between the "*critic's chair*" and a "*bench of justice*?" We cannot but consider this use of that sublime and scriptural expression as both flippant and profane.

But we must close our lengthened remarks.—Very hard measure is, at the present time, meted to our church. She is beset with enemies, and assailed from every quarter. She is spoken of with every kind of obloquy, attacked in every species of warfare, and struck at with every sort of weapon. Her doctrines, ceremonies, liturgy, discipline, officers, patronage, revenues, sometimes in turn, and sometimes together are incessantly and violently arraigned. We are friends to fair and liberal discussion;—but where is the liberality of

* Our Author has collected all the faults which he can find or fancy in the *Formularies* of the Establishment, and has exhibited them to the world as a *Picture of our Church*, (Guide 16, &c.) He cannot, therefore, complain, if we, from his own pages, produce a *picture of dissent*. His picture of the Church is, indeed a *deformed caricature*; but ours of dissent, if his own statements are correct, is an *accurate likeness*.

magnifying the defects, and of exaggerating the abuses of the Establishment, while her nature is misrepresented, and her excellency is concealed? Where is the fairness of infusing into the minds of young and uninformed dissenters, objections against the church, which have been refuted a thousand times? While our Church has been thus vigorously and variously assaulted by her enemies, she has been tardily, partially, and inefficiently defended by her friends. Our protracted remarks on the work at the head of this article, are due not so much to its author, or its merits, as to our venerable Establishment, which in it is so covertly, and so unjustly accused. For who would suspect that in the midst of a book, with the seductive title of "CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP," a most unprovoked and unkind attack on our church were concealed?

If our author chooses to repeat his attack, we would ask him to do it openly, that when we see his title page, we may know what we are about to purchase, and what we are about to read. We see as clearly, and lament as deeply as our author, the abuses of the Church of England. But there are in dissenting churches, as he has honestly told us, abuses great, and constant, and manifold! There is, however, this essential difference between the abuses of Dissent, and the abuses of the Established Church:—the abuses of the Church are *extraneous* to the Establishment; but the abuses of Dissent are *inherent* in the system.

We are thankful to the author that he has disclosed, for the first time, in something like official form, the defects, distractions, and abuses of dissent. This faithful and fearless disclosure, so creditable to his sincerity and independence, will be, we trust, advantageous both to the well-informed churchman, and to the conscientious dissenter. The well-informed churchman will learn from "the picture of dissent," which our author has so faithfully drawn, more highly to prize, and more strongly to love the Church of England. And the conscientious dissenter, while from the same "picture" he learns to be more candid towards the faults of the Establishment, will begin to supply the defects, and to lessen the abuses of dissent. In both these ways our author's book will, we hope, be highly useful.

Personally we thank our author for his book; because the apparent candour, and real confidence, in which he has made his attack, have induced us again to examine the foundations of our Church; and the examination has confirmed our former convictions of her scriptural nature and practical excellency. She has nothing to fear either from the attacks of her enemies, or from comparison with any church under heaven. At home

she is the bulwark of sound doctrines, and the sanctuary of scriptural piety:—abroad she is the wonder and glory of Christendom. She is destined, we believe, to be the teacher and benefactress of the world. We revere her biblical constitution; we admire her tolerant spirit; we rejoice in her holy influence; and we pray that her influence may be increased a thousand-fold! We petition heaven for her peace, and will labour for her prosperity. “O pray for the peace of Jerusalem; they shall prosper that love thee! Peace be within thy walls, and prosperity within thy palaces! For my brethren, and companions’ sakes, I will now say—Peace be within thee! Because of the house of the Lord our God, I will seek thy good!”

ART. XI.—*A Brief Narrative of an unsuccessful Attempt to reach Repulse Bay, through Sir Thomas Rowe’s Welcome, in His Majesty’s Ship Griper, in the Year 1824.* By Capt. G. F. Lyon, R. N. With a Chart and Engravings. London. Murray. 1825. 8vo. Pp. xvi. and 198.

In the first article of our twenty-second volume we gave an account of Captain Franklin’s journey to the shores of the Polar Sea. We there stated our conviction that, notwithstanding the repeated failures which have been encountered, it becomes the acknowledged maritime superiority of England, to leave no means untried for the elucidation of the great problem of the North-West Passage. Accordingly, we have here the Narrative of another unsuccessful attempt to throw light upon this interesting question; an attempt equally fertile in enterprise and heroism with those which preceded it, equally favoured in the safe return of the party to whom it was entrusted, but adding little, though still adding something, and that something of considerable importance, to our geographical knowledge.

We observed, in the article already referred to, that all the attempts hitherto made, to the west of Davis’s Strait, have only served to indicate that the passage is not to be expected in that direction. Accordingly, this new expedition was ordered to proceed through Hudson’s Strait to Repulse Bay. In pursuance of this direction, Captain Lyon set sail in the *Griper*, on the 12th of last June, in company with a surveying vessel, which lightened them of part of their stores. On the

third of August they reached the entrance of Hudson's Strait, and parted company, the Griper receiving all her stores on board, which, having necessarily provided for the consumption of two years and a half, in case the vessel had been detained so long in those icy regions, crowded her very much, and impeded her sailing. As the strait was unusually encumbered with icebergs, this hindrance was of serious consequence, and not unattended with danger. They were engaged till the thirtieth, in working their way to the south cape of Southampton Island, which, the author informs us, "is laid down 2° to the westward of its true position. Its latitude is as correct as could be expected, and is by a meridian altitude of Mirza, under the pole, $61^{\circ} 50' 35''$. The longitude by sights of α Lyra is $84^{\circ} 2' 15''$. (Pp. 71, 72.)

This observation was afterwards fully confirmed: for it is stated,

"Our noon lat. $62^{\circ} 14' 38''$, and long. $84^{\circ} 29' 54''$, placed us exactly on Southampton Island, and two degrees eastward of Cape Southampton of the charts." (P. 72.)

"With a light wind, but heavy sea, from the south-west, we made a N.W.B.N. course, over the place assigned to Southampton Island, with regular soundings between seventy and fifty fathoms." (Pp. 73, 74.)

On the following day they discerned land to the north-west of them; and a scene ensued, which we must give to our readers in the simple and affecting narrative of Captain Lyon, as exhibiting another example of that calm devotion and submissive reliance on the divine power and mercy, which was put to so severe a test in Captain Franklin's journey.

"As I expected to find the American shore east of its position in the charts, I conceived that this would be Cape Fullerton of Middleton, and therefore kept it on our larboard hand, intending to run past it at five or six miles, which was its distance at this time. We soon, however, came to fifteen fathoms, and I kept right away, but had then only ten; when being unable to see far around us, and observing from the whiteness of the water that we were on a bank, I rounded to at seven A. M., and tried to bring up with the starboard anchor, and seventy fathoms chain, but the stiff breeze and heavy sea caused this to part in half an hour, and we again made sail to the north-eastward; but finding we came suddenly to seven fathoms, and that the ship could not possibly work out again, as she would not face the sea or keep steerage way on her, I most reluctantly brought her up with three bowers and a stream in succession, yet not before we had shoaled to five and a half. This was between eight and nine A.M. The ship pitching bows under, and a tremendous sea running. At noon the starboard bower-anchor parted, but the others held.

"As there was every reason to fear the falling of the tide, which we knew to be from twelve to fifteen feet on this coast, and in that case the total destruction of the ship, I caused the long-boat to be hoisted

out, and with the four smaller ones, to be stored to a certain extent with arms and provisions. The officers drew lots for their respective boats, and the ship's company were stationed to them. The long-boat having been filled full of stores which could not be put below, it became requisite to throw them overboard, as there was no room for them on our very small and crowded decks, over which heavy seas were constantly sweeping. In making these preparations for taking to the boats, it was evident to all, that the long-boat was the only one which had the slightest chance of living under the lee of the ship, should she be wrecked, but every officer and man drew his lot with the greatest composure, although two of our boats would have been swamped the instant they were lowered. Yet such was the noble feeling of those around me, that it was evident that had I ordered the boats in question to be manned, their crews would have entered them without a murmur. In the afternoon, on the weather clearing a little, we discovered a low beach all around astern of us, on which the surf was running to an awful height, and it appeared evident that no human powers could save us. At three P.M. the tide had fallen to twenty-two feet, (only six more than we drew,) and the ship having been lifted by a tremendous sea, struck with great violence the whole length of her keel. This we naturally conceived was the forerunner of her total wreck, and we stood in readiness to take the boats, and endeavour to hang under her lee. She continued to strike with sufficient force to have burst any less fortified vessel, at intervals of a few minutes, whenever an unusually heavy sea passed us. And, as the water was so shallow, these might almost be called breakers rather than waves, for each in passing, burst with great force over our gangways, and as every sea "topped," our decks were continually, and frequently deeply, flooded. All hands took a little refreshment, for some had scarcely been below for twenty-four hours, and I had not been in bed for three nights. Although few or none of us had any idea that we should survive the gale, we did not think that our comforts should be entirely neglected, and an order was therefore given to the men to put on their best and warmest clothing, to enable them to support life as long as possible. Every man, therefore, brought his bag on deck and dressed himself, and in the fine athletic forms which stood exposed before me, I did not see one muscle quiver, nor the slightest sign of alarm. The officers each secured some useful instrument about them for the purposes of observation, although it was acknowledged by all that not the slightest hope remained. And now that every thing in our power had been done, I called all hands aft, and to a merciful God offered prayers for our preservation. I thanked every one for their excellent conduct, and cautioned them, as we should, in all probability soon appear before our Maker, to enter His presence as men resigned to their fate. We then all sat down in groups, and, sheltered from the wash of the sea by whatever we could find, many of us endeavoured to obtain a little sleep. Never, perhaps, was witnessed a finer scene than on the deck of my little ship, when all hope of life had left us. Noble as the character of the British sailor is always allowed to be in cases of danger, yet I did not believe it to be possible, that amongst forty-one

persons not one repining word should have been uttered. The officers sat about, wherever they could find shelter from the sea, and the men lay down conversing with each other with the most perfect calmness. Each was at peace with his neighbour and all the world, and I am firmly persuaded that the resignation which was then shewn to the will of the Almighty, was the means of obtaining his mercy. At about six P.M. the rudder, which had already received some very heavy blows, rose, and broke up the after-lockers, and this was the last severe shock which the ship received. We found by the well that she made no water, and by dark she struck no more. God was merciful to us, and the tide, almost miraculously, fell no lower. At dark, heavy rain fell, but was borne with patience, for it beat down the gale, and brought with it a light air from the northward. At nine P.M. the water had deepened to five fathoms. The ship kept off the ground all night, and our exhausted crew obtained some broken rest.

"At four A.M. on the 2nd, on weighing the best bower, we found it had lost a fluke, and by eight we had weighed the two other anchors and the stream, which were found uninjured. The land was now more clearly visible, and the highest surf I ever saw was still breaking on it, and on some shoals about half a mile from the shore. Not a single green patch could be seen on the flat shingle beach, and our sense of deliverance was doubly felt from the conviction that if any of us should have lived to reach the shore, the most wretched death by starvation would have been inevitable. In standing out from our anchorage, which in humble gratitude for our delivery, I named the "Bay of God's Mercy," we saw the buoy of the anchor we had lost in ten fathoms, and weighed it by the buoy rope, losing therefore only one bower anchor. We now hoisted the long boat in, and an occasional glimpse of the sun enabled us to determine the situation of our recent anchorage, which was in lat. $63^{\circ} 35' 48''$, long. $86^{\circ} 92' 00''$. The land all round it was so low that it was scarcely visible from the deck at five miles distance, while the point which I had taken for Cape Fullerton, and which I named after Mr. Kendall, (assistant surveyor,) was higher than the coast of Southampton hitherto seen, although still low land. The extreme of the right side of the bay was named after Lieutenant Manico. Keeping abreast of Cape Kendall, and steering west in from ten to thirteen fathoms, at six or eight miles off, at seven P.M. we anchored in thirteen fathoms. The weather was calm, with a heavy ground-swell setting for the shore. The ship being now somewhat to rights, I called the hands aft, and we offered up our thanks and praises to God, for the mercy he had shown to us. All hands then turned in, and the ship lay quiet for the night." (Pp. 76—82.)

The preceding extract, we are persuaded, our readers would not have wished us to abridge. The land itself, which thus entrapped our unwary adventurers, may either be a small island in the centre of the Welcome, or a projecting point of Southampton Island. On weighing anchor our navigators encountered very severe weather, which kept them in continual alarm and activity; till on the seventh of September,

when they were enabled to come to anchor, between Cape Fullerton and Whale Point, on the coast of America.

"Now it was we felt the happiness of being quietly at anchor; the ship's company had been casting the deep sea lead, every hour in deep water, and in shoal, every quarter, for six days and nights, which had kept them constantly wet at a temperature rarely above the freezing point; yet by this labour alone had I been able to keep the ship in safety during the last week of heavy gales. In the evening I spliced the main brace, and issued an extra pint of water; and the singing and merriment which prevailed between decks, plainly evinced the value my people placed on an evening of rest." (P. 87.)

From this point they proceeded cheerfully under every disadvantage, to work their way up the Welcome, till another heavy gale demonstrated the utter hopelessness of the attempt to reach Repulse Bay, in that vessel, so late in the season. We quote only the concluding part of their distresses.

"The hurricane blew with such violence as to be perfectly deafening; and the heavy wash of the sea made it difficult to reach the main-mast, where the officer of the watch and his people sat shivering, completely cased in frozen snow, under a small tarpaulin, before which ropes were stretched to preserve them in their places. I never saw a darker night, and its gloom was increased by the rays of a small horn lantern which was suspended from the mizen stay to show where the people sat.

"At dawn on the 13th, thirty minutes after four, A.M., we found that the best bower cable had parted, and as the gale now blew with terrific violence, from the north, there was little reason to expect that the other anchors would hold long; or if they did, we pitched so deeply, and lifted so great a body of water each time, that it was feared the windlass and forecastle would be torn up, or she must go down at her anchors; although the ports were knocked out, and a considerable portion of the bulwark cut away, she could scarcely discharge one sea before shipping another, and the decks were frequently flooded to an alarming depth.

"At six A.M., all farther doubts on this particular account were at an end, for, having received two overwhelming seas, both the other cables went at the same moment, and we were left helpless, without anchors, or any means of saving ourselves, should the shore, as we had every reason to expect, be close astern. And here again I had the happiness of witnessing the same general tranquillity as was shown on the 1st of September. There was no outcry that the cables were gone, but my friend Mr. Manico, with Mr. Carr the gunner, came aft as soon as they recovered their legs, and in the lowest whisper, informed me that the cables had all parted. The ship, in trending to the wind, lay quite down on her broadside, and as it then became evident that nothing held her, and that she was quite helpless, each man instinctively took his station, while the seamen at the leads, having secured themselves as well as was in their power, repeated

their soundings, on which our preservation depended, with as much composure as if we had been entering a friendly port. Here again that Almighty Power which had before so mercifully preserved us, granted us his protection, for it so happened that it was slackwater when we parted, the wind had come round to N.N.W. (*along the land*), and our head fell off to north-east, or sea-ward; we set two try-sails, for the ship would bear no more, and even with that lay her lee gunwale in the water. In a quarter of an hour we were in seventeen fathoms. Still expecting every moment to strike, from having no idea where we had anchored, I ordered the few remaining casks of the provisions received from the Snap, to be hove overboard, for being stowed round the capstan and abaft the mizen-mast, I feared their fetching way should we take the ground. At eight the fore trysail gaff went in the slings, but we were unable to lower it, on account of the amazing force of the wind, and every rope being encrusted with a thick coating of ice. The decks were now so deeply covered with frozen snow and freezing sea-water, that it was scarcely possible, while we lay over so much, to stand on them; and all hands being wet and half frozen, without having had any refreshment for so many hours, our situation was rendered miserable in the extreme.

"Standing with our head to the north-east, we deepened the water, but increased the sea and wind, which latter was alone of sufficient strength to stave the larboard waist boat against the side of the ship, and also to damage that on the quarter by the same means.

"At eleven A.M. a wave filled and swept away the starboard waist boat, from which most providentially the lead's man had just been called, with her davits and the swinging boom. At noon a dim meridian altitude was obtained, and at two P.M. we observed Southampton Island from N.N.E. to E.B.S., very indistinctly, and distant eighteen or twenty miles, but could see nothing of the coast we had left, as it was still covered by dark clouds and snow-storms.

"In the afternoon, having well weighed in my mind all the circumstances of our distressed situation, I turned the hands up and informed them, that 'having now lost all our bower anchors, and chains, and being in consequence unable to bring up in any part of the Welcome; being exposed to the sets of a tremendous tideway and constant heavy gales, one of which was now rapidly sweeping us back to the southward, and being yet above eighty miles from Repulse Bay, with the shores leading to which we were unacquainted; our compasses useless, and it being impossible to continue under sail with any degree of safety in these dark twelve-hour nights, with the too often experienced certainty that the ship could not beat off a lee-shore even in moderate weather, I had determined on making southing, to clear the narrows of the Welcome.' " (Pp. 101—105.)

The result of this necessary measure was a wise though reluctant determination to return: and we have more reason to be thankful to a gracious Providence, for enabling them to reach their native land in safety, from so perilous an undertaking, than to regret the disappointment of the hopes with

which they embarked. They ran into Portsmouth harbour, having lost all their anchors and cables, on the ninth of December, just half a year after they left Deptford.

The effect of this voyage upon science consists in the additional knowledge it has given us of the hydrography and geography of the Welcome and its adjacent shores, an accession of many facts connected with the irregularities of the compass, and a botanical appendix by professor Hooker. With regard to the compass, no sooner had they entered the Welcome, than Captain Lyon observes :

“ Our larboard compass, which with two others had shown our head N.b.w., (which with three points and a half westerly variation, agreed with the sun's bearing in giving a N.w. $\frac{1}{2}$ w. course,) suddenly pointed E.N.E., and no tapping or motion would keep it at any other point for above two or three minutes, after which it as suddenly recovered its agreement with the others, and continued quite correct. We now, from repeated observations, discovered, that when our head was nearly north by compass, the deviation was three points and a-half west, but when between north-west and west, it amounted to eight points, while with the head to the southward, the compasses would generally rest wherever they were directed by the finger, and sometimes each persisted in maintaining a direction of its own.” (Pp. 72, 73.)

This is the same observation which was made by Ellis, in 1746, in the same strait ; and, when once the Griper had got out of the Welcome, and to the south of Southampton Island, the compasses again became true. But the most remarkable fact recorded, during the present voyage, is a singular restlessness of the compasses from nine to eleven at night. We copy Captain Lyon's speculation on this apparently inexplicable phenomenon.

“ This agitation having frequently been observed on other nights, between the hours of nine and eleven, had always been the cause of great anxiety to me, while endeavouring to steer a course after dark, unless the moon or stars were clearly visible ; and it is well worthy of consideration, whether this wildness of motion in the compasses is at all caused by the *absence* of the sun, or is in any way occasioned by the *presence* of the Aurora, which phenomenon was rarely seen earlier than nine P.M., and the time when it was most vivid was generally about ten.” (P. 119.)

The volume, besides a chart of Hudson's Strait and the Welcome, contains several beautifully executed sketches of the scenery and natives, which add much to its interest. The head of Iligluik, taken in the act of singing, will recal to the readers of Captain Parry's voyage, many of the most interesting adventures of that able navigator : and it stands in the centre of several other specimens of Esquimaux physiognomy ; which, however nowhere appears to so much

advantage as in the countenance of a young man, who came to the ship from shore, paddling himself upon three inflated seal-skins, up to his knees in water. Captain Lyon's tenderness of feeling and kindness of behaviour towards those destitute tribes, is a very pleasing trait in his Narrative. Of the character of some of them, we cite the following specimen.

"On the ground in one of the tents, I saw a little bit of deal, about three inches in length, planed and painted black on one side. This was amongst the valuables of the family, although from its size it could not have been made useful, but was probably treasured in consequence of its having drifted to their shore from one of the Hudson's Bay ships. This, with three bows, each consisting of many pieces, was all the wood in their possession, for their spears were made of the whale's rib bone, and in a rougher style than any we had hitherto seen. Yet this scarcity of wood did not prevent their gladly selling the bows; and I afterwards learnt that one with five arrows was purchased for a livery button. I distributed knives, boarding-pikes, and beads, to the whole of this little tribe, and observed that each individual, on receiving a present, immediately offered to the donor the choice of their property, the most valuable of which, in their own estimation, were small rolls of dried salmon-skins, and little pieces of flint for the purpose of making knives and arrows. Poor Neakoodloo, on receiving two knives for himself and wife, appeared quite distressed at my refusing the dirty pieces of stone and fish-skins which he offered me; and fancying that I rejected them as not being good enough, he took a sharp flint, and begun cutting up a large seal-skin, the only one in his possession, for my acceptance; on my refusing this also, he again warmly repeated his thanks for the knives." (Pp. 60—62.)

But we cannot close this article, without observing further, upon the patient endurance, the persevering labour, the cheerful submission, the calm forbearance under cold, fatigue, and the expectation of death, which were manifested by all the sharers in this memorable expedition. These are traits which we must ascribe to the secret influence of Christian knowledge and principle: for where, except among Christians, shall we find a parallel to them in all their circumstances? But yet, we fear that we must attribute much of the excellent feeling, which prevailed among them, to the sense that they were constantly acting under the observation of each other. Otherwise these Christian qualities would appear more abundantly in the ordinary trials of life. But many who would behave well in a battle or a shipwreck, want some stimulus to urge them to similar exertion and self-denial in the common business that is to be transacted between man and man, or in the unrestrained intercourse of a family. In a word, the duty which is acknowledged to an

earthly superior, is a more powerful restraint to us than the fear of God, whose servants we are in privacy as well as in public, and from whose inspection none of our actions are hid. Whenever, therefore, we are tempted, in future, to the transgression of any rule of morality or religion, we would remember the crew of the Griper; and seek to exercise the same self restraint in the presence of our God and Saviour, which they did in the presence of each other.

ART. XII.—*The Crisis; or, An attempt to shew from Prophecy, illustrated by the Signs of the Times, the prospects and the duties of the Church of Christ at the present period. With an enquiry into the probable destiny of England during the predicted desolations of the Papal Kingdoms.* By the Rev. Edward Cooper, Rector of Hamstall Ridware, and of Yoxall, in the county of Stafford. Cadell. 1825. Pp. xviii. and 253.

It was a very just remark of Lord Bacon, that “the nature of man coveteth divination.”* The propensity of the human mind to look into futurity, must be obvious to every person who has studied the history of mankind, or who has marked even with moderate attention those intellectual speculations and those trains of thought which are most readily suggested to himself. It has often, indeed, been urged, by those who indulge in abstract argument, that this anxious desire of the mind to stretch forward in its contemplations to periods and events yet concealed from its view, affords an independent proof of the immortality of the soul, or at least gives strong presumptive evidence of the imperishable nature of its existence. To those who have the direct testimony of revelation upon this point, it is of little importance to ascertain whether such a conclusion be philosophically just, or even morally probable. But there is another reflection, derived from the fact just stated, which must force itself upon every thinking mind;—we mean, *how limited is the power* of the human faculties, when applied to speculations upon events which are yet involved by the mists of *futurity*! A foreknowledge of the events of even *physical* nature, (though depending upon immutable laws, and following from a

* Bacon's Essays :—‘Of Prophecies.’

necessary* connexion with a few simple truths, requires no ordinary exertion of the human intellect,—is the result of the accumulated wisdom of many ages, and soon finds boundaries which it cannot pass. Our foreknowledge of the actions of *intelligent* beings, lies within an infinitely narrower sphere; and perhaps in no case whatever attains to more than a high degree of moral probability. From the usual experience of human nature, the politician, the moral philosopher, or the theologian, may calculate upon particular effects as the probable results of given principles, exercising their usual influence upon the faculties, the feelings, and the dispositions of mankind. And such calculations undoubtedly form data for the practical regulation of our conduct, in the adoption of measures which we may reasonably expect will be productive of the result we have in view. But all such anticipations of moral consequences, differ widely, both in their nature and their extent, from *foreknowledge*, in the proper sense of the term. The calculations of the wisest and the most profound, are often contradicted by the events; and such failures in the predictions of human sagacity, afford the most humbling proofs of the comparatively narrow bounds within which the faculties of man can expatiate. Neither can such anticipations embrace the details of personal adventure or of national history. To foreknow *contingent* events, is the prerogative of the Deity alone, or of those to whom the mind of the Supreme Being has been imparted by direct inspiration.

Upon this truth, so universally felt and acknowledged, depends the weight of the argument from PROPHECY, for the establishment of religious belief. The *Prescience* of God, places Him at an infinite distance from every created Being. It is a truth which at once commends itself to our belief, that the intelligence *must* be unlimited, which, in the perplexed labyrinth of human affairs, can discover the final result of infinitely varied combinations; which can foresee the links connecting the great chain of contingent events in remote ages; and which can foretell with precision the fate of empires, and the circumstances of individuals, in distant periods of time. Accordingly, every religion, true or false, has appealed to this argument, in proof of the divine character of the objects of its worship. Hence arose the heathen Oracles, Auguries, and Soothsayings; the consulting of auspices; the various methods of divination and theomancy, by

* It is almost needless to say that we use this word merely with reference to the *unchangeable character* of His works, which the Author of the universe has impressed on the material system.

which mankind were abused, and all the abominations of paganism upheld among an ignorant and superstitious multitude. It would be superfluous to do more than simply advert to the specious artifices, and the impudent forgeries, by which the pretended prognostications of the heathen world have been supported. In "the times of this ignorance," idle credulity occupied the place of sober conviction : it would have been considered an act of impiety, to submit oracular predictions to that close examination and rigid criticism, which must at once overthrow every "refuge of lies," while it tends to establish the records of revealed truth upon an immoveable basis. This is an observation which has been pursued till it has become perfectly trite. But there is another circumstance, not sufficiently attended to, by which the evidence arising out of Prophecy is still more clearly distinguished from those spurious pretensions to which heathen divination made its appeal. What were the ordinary subjects of the pagan oracles ? They were not only indistinct in the professed matter of prognostication ; but they were, for the most part, confined to the persons and circumstances *existing in the period when the prediction was uttered*. They referred, for instance, to the adventures of some living individuals, or to the event of some particular battle, or to the success of some particular enterprise ; and, even with regard to these, the oracle was expressed in terms, equivocal, ambiguous, scarcely removed from the rational deduction of human sagacity, or relying for its credit upon the occasional success of some fortunate conjecture.* There is no instance of pagan prediction which forms a fair exception to this remark. Virgil's Pollio is perhaps the highest flight which the pretended prophetic spirit of heathenism ever took, when venturing to prognosticate the circumstances of remote ages, and of nations yet unborn ; but in this beautiful Eclogue, the classical reader will discover nothing more than the rhapsodies of genius inspired by the desire to flatter a great man ; for the prescience of a bard, actually "rapt into future times," belongs to "sublimier strains" than ever resounded from the lyre of a heathen poet. As to the celebrated Sibylline books, they exist not to tell the tale of the hollow pretensions which they formerly made to the prophetic character ; the "Verses" which are at present so designated, being manifestly the forgeries of some early Christian writer, composed *after* the event, with the mis-

* "Men mark when they hit, and never mark when they miss. Probable conjectures, or obscure traditions, many times turn themselves into Prophecies." Bacon's Essays : 'Of Prophecies.'

taken policy of obtaining credit for the truth of Revelation by what is disgustingly denominated a "pious fraud." The Prophecies of the only Revelation which will bear enquiry into its evidences, were of a far different character. While the individuals of the existing period were often the subject of remarkable visions,—and while the events which were even then at hand were frequently predicted with a precision to which heathen auguries could have made no pretensions,—the spirit of prophecy took a bolder flight; it anticipated the successive establishments and revolutions of empires; it outstripped the fleeting generations of man; it revealed the events of *the most distant ages* with an exactness that left no room for the supposition of fortunate conjecture; and it had no other limits to the field in which it expatiated, than the awful consummation of this material scene. While following the long drawn perspective of remote periods of time, the eye of the Seer "was not dim," nor did the most distant scenes presented to his gaze gradually become indistinct and obscure. All was equally clear to the contemplation of the Prophet,—whether the prospect expanded before him in the inspired vision, lay immediately beneath his feet, or stretched forward in immeasurable distance. In this respect we may see the great triumph of Prophetic evidence, over all the pretensions of superstitious belief, and all the cavils of infidel objectors. He "who touched Isaiah's hallowed lips with fire," has himself directed our attention to this incontrovertible proof of his divine attribute, in the foreknowledge of the *most distant* events, arising out of the *most complicated* combination of remote and detached circumstances. "Who, as I, shall call, and shall declare it, and set it in order for me, since I appointed the ancient people? and the things that are coming, and shall come, let them shew unto them." "I am God, and there is none like me: declaring the end from the beginning, and from ancient times the things that are not yet done." A stronger species of evidence than this, cannot be imagined. It has always proved the *crux infidelium*; for it is impossible by fair reasoning to overthrow the conclusions resulting from it for the establishment of Revelation. Its vast importance to the cause of religion may appear from the anxious but futile attempts of unbelievers to get rid of the appeal altogether, by denying the authenticity of the record, where the application of the Prophecy to the event has been too distinct for them to disallow the correspondence. Thus Porphyry maintained that the Prophecies of Daniel were written subsequently to the events which they so faithfully predicted, namely, *about or after* the time of Antiochus Epiphanes; a statement without

a shadow of evidence, and contrary * to some indisputable facts, and yet unblushingly revived at the beginning of the last century by the sceptical Collins. The evidence from Prophecy does not depend, however, upon an insulated prediction. These valuable records are standing monuments of the truth of revelation, by their exact correspondence with the history of the world in times that are past; and the page of prophecy, being still open to the church of God, will continue to afford invincible demonstration of the power and wisdom of its Divine Author, by the growing developement of those predictions which yet remain to be fulfilled.

If the *evidence* arising out of the predictions of Scripture, stamps the highest possible value upon these portions of the divine word, the *moral uses* which they subserve point out the great importance of the diligent and serious study of the Prophetic Records. Nothing can be conceived better calculated to impress the mind with a deep and salutary conviction, that the most minute affairs of the church, and of the world at large, are under the superintendence of a controlling Providence, than the previous declaration of that Almighty Will which "ordereth all things both in heaven and in earth," and the successive fulfilment of those parts of the great plan of the divine government, which have been sketched out many ages before their accomplishment. In every event of this changeful world, (whether it has been the express subject of positive prediction, or not,) the servant of God becomes thus habituated to look up to an all-controlling as well as all-directing Power, with the conviction that nothing is so small as to elude its observation, nothing so vast as to be beyond the limits of its dominion; and that all seeming discord will hereafter be found to harmonize beautifully with the general scheme of infinite wisdom. The study of Prophecy may thus become eminently conducive to moral improvement, and intimately connected with the conduct and happiness of life. Not, indeed, that *Prophecy* may be substituted for *precept*, (for by the latter, the line of duty must invariably be regulated,) but, when seriously studied, it leads the mind to a devout and tranquil acquiescence in the allotments of an overruling Providence, from the conviction that all that is at present mysterious will finally be cleared up, by the light which the all-wise Disposer of events will hereafter shed upon the map of his moral government. When the Prophecies are read with this view, they will tend to strengthen our faith in present appointments, rather than to excite our curiosity respecting

* The Book of Daniel was translated into Greek nearly one hundred years before the time of Antiochus Epiphanes.

the future condition of individuals or of empires. They will call into practical exercise our personal graces, rather than induce us to look inquisitively or speculatively into the designs of Providence with regard to others. They will induce us to submit patiently and humbly to our own trials, and devoutly to acknowledge our own mercies; rather than to pry with an unhallowed gaze into the intentions of the Most High, and to declare with a presumptuous certainty the precise nature of his dealings with unbelievers; or with unholy familiarity to unroll the awful volume of his future judgments upon his enemies. By these remarks, we by no means wish to check sober inquiry into the meaning of unaccomplished prophecy. On the contrary, under those due restrictions which unfeigned piety, united to a calm judgment, will ever impose upon investigations of this character, we do not hesitate to express our belief, that it is the duty of every Christian to make himself acquainted with those parts of the inspired records which relate to the yet unfulfilled designs of the Almighty. Awful are the declarations which they contain of the wrath of Jehovah; and of that cup of vengeance, which the provocations of an ungodly world are daily increasing, and which will at length be full to the brim. Consolatory are the appearances which they record, of His favour to His faithful servants; and of their security in seasons of persecution and trial. Animating are the promises with which they abound, of final victory and of endless blessedness to the conflicting servants of Jehovah. The study of such interesting records as these is of the utmost importance. It may occasionally arrest some presumptuous adversary, and lead him to throw down the weapons of so desperate a warfare. But its highest use is, to keep the Church of God in a state of watchfulness; to stir up the dying embers of an expiring devotion; to direct the eye of faith to Him who permits, for the wisest ends, the trials of his saints; to excite them to a diligent preparation for the coming of their Lord; to fit them as instruments in the accomplishment of his purposes; to encourage, to support, to strengthen, to cheer, the disciples of Christ, while they look forward to the establishment of his kingdom over all the nations of the earth. With the pious view of contributing to promote such ends as these, Mr. Cooper's little volume has been undertaken. Every Christian heart must approve of his design, and will devoutly enter into the spirit in which it has been pursued, whatever may be the opinion adopted as to that particular "Crisis," which Mr. Cooper imagines to be at hand. "*The signs of the times,*" are undoubtedly sufficiently remarkable indications of "*the*

prospects and duties of the Church of Christ;" whatever difference of sentiment may exist, as to the *exact* interpretation of that portion of prophecy which is expounded in the work before us.

By this admission, we must not be understood to concede that the successful interpretation of scriptural predictions is a matter of only secondary importance. We hold a widely different opinion upon this subject. In proportion to the *value* of the evidence arising from clearly fulfilled prophecy, for the establishment of revealed truth, and the importance of the moral effects which it is calculated to produce upon the mind of the Christian, is the *danger* of fanciful and erroneous interpretations. When the sceptic perceives that the most opposite and inconsistent expositions of strictly chronological prophecies are given by the believers in revelation, and that systems of interpretation are often advanced, not in the tone of modest enquiry,* but with undoubting confidence† and with all the parade of absolute demonstration,—he is induced to conclude that the boasted evidence of the truth of the inspired records, deduced from the proofs which they contain of the prescience of their Author, is but an empty pretension. The effect is not less deplorable upon the mind of the humble Christian. From the variety of conflicting opinions, and especially from the repeated failures of modern interpreters, whose systems have been overthrown even by the events of their own day, the individual who studies his Bible for practical improvement is apt to turn aside from those valuable and impressive portions of the Divine Word which have been the subjects of so much fruitless speculation and vain conjecture, in despair of reaping from them either profit or advantage. We have therefore viewed, not only with deep regret, but with no small apprehension, the multitude of productions of

* We are far, indeed, from intending to make any allusion to Mr. Cooper, by this, and some other expressions;—which, however, apply to too many writers on Prophecy. Mr. Cooper's volume is pleasingly distinguished by the modesty and humility with which he proposes his interpretations;—still more so, by the serious views to which he makes them subservient.

† The language used by some writers is little short of *presumptuous*. Take the following specimens from Mr. Frere's 'Combined View of the Prophecies;' Second Edition. 1815. The Author "*having foreseen and declared, from the Prophetic writings, the reverses which France would undergo,*" (p. 106.) was encouraged to lift up an oracular voice again. "*We must necessarily expect that the fall of the Ottoman Empire will take place in about three or four years.—This Note dated 8th April, 1815, printed 18th April, 1815.*" (p. 112.) "*Buonaparte will return into the Holy Land; and there he and all his army will perish.*" (p. 482.) This prediction was made, as we learn from the Postscript, about 8th May 1815! The events which have since occurred form a truly humbling comment upon Mr. Frere's confident anticipations of the Divine Will.

this character which have issued from the press in our own eventful time. While "many" have "run to and fro," we doubt whether "knowledge" has been "increased;" at least in proportion to the prevalence of unbounded speculation, on the one hand, and of unwarrantable incredulity and disgust at *every* system of interpretation, on the other. It may be worth while, then, to inquire a little further into the causes which have produced some of those fanciful expositions of Prophecy, to which our remarks refer.

As the main spring, and abundant source, of the perplexing variety and inconsistency of modern interpreters, we may mention, the rage for finding ~~some~~ positive scriptural prediction for almost *every event of our own day*. We live, undoubtedly in an extraordinary age; and that individual must be unobservant indeed, of what is passing around him, who does not perceive, in the occurrences of modern times, much to which the history of past ages scarcely affords a parallel. To disregard "the signs of the times," would be to manifest a stupid and criminal indifference to those dispensations of Providence to which the subjects of His moral government should ever direct a watchful eye. We admit, further, that from certain chronological predictions in the Holy Scriptures, we may without hesitation conclude that we cannot be very far removed from the termination of a grand Prophetical period, which will close by a "*Crisis*" of the most awful nature. For this "*Crisis*," the Church of God should keep herself in habitual preparation. Let it not be thought, then, that we wish to condemn that frame of mind, which contemplates with solemnity the dealings of God with the generations in which we live, or which devoutly compares them with the declarations of ancient Prophecy; the duty of such exercises we would earnestly impress on our readers, and we rejoice to find it so admirably pointed out by the excellent author whose volume has given occasion to these remarks. But the errors against which we would enter our decided protest, are,—on the one hand,—that of commenting *in detail* upon every circumstance of the passing day, and of searching for an *express* prediction in relation to it;—on the other, that of selecting some *insulated* portions of the Prophecies, which have casual and *partial resemblances* to present occurrences, and without hesitation concluding that they stand in the relation of *decided* prediction and *direct* fulfilment. Curiosity is thus set at work, and ingenuity is exercised, in tracing plausible coincidences. A fanciful and dextrous mind will easily discover such imaginary connexions. Hence have arisen a vast variety of prophetical charts, schemes, and plans, to the absolute

confusion of the sober commentator. With the same view, apocalyptic seals, trumpets, and vials, have been arranged in almost every possible combination which the tabular column, or a ramification of brackets, could present to the eye. Too many expositors have indulged in such discussions, rather in that speculative manner which might become the arrangement of a mathematical puzzle, or the adjustment of a geometrical diagram; than with those sober views which ought to occupy the mind when attempting rightly to divide the word of truth. But the error of which we speak, is not confined to merely *speculative* persons. It sometimes finds a place in the *devotional* mind, from a misapplication of some of the best of principles and feelings. Such an individual looks into the page of inspiration, and is devoutly impressed with the proofs it contains of the prescience of God with regard to events which have already received their accomplishment; and he is struck with the prospective view it presents of dispensations the fulfilment of which is yet to come. He then looks into the page of history, and upon the theatre of passing events; delighting to trace the finger of Providence in the occurrences of this changeful world. Such doctrinal exercises as these, occupy some of the most profitable hours of the Christian; but it is easy to see that they may readily lead to deceptive conclusions in an imaginative mind. Every passing event, may be so contemplated, as unduly to excite and to impress such a mind with the conviction that it was not only *foreseen*, but also *foretold*; that it was not only included in the plan by which the Omniscient orders all his dispensations, but that it was also previously marked out by a revelation of his purposes. Thus the map of Providence and the chart of Prophecy are made to coincide, in parts of the great outline which were never intended to have any correspondence. It seems to be forgotten that the latter does not necessarily exhibit a similitude to the former, in all its complicated windings and minute details; and that even those particular portions of the history of the church and of the world, which have been sketched out by anticipation in the sacred oracles, are not always those upon which human wisdom would have fixed as the most important; but rather those which might afford the most remarkable and striking evidence, that the coincidence of the prediction and the fulfilment is not ambiguous. If such considerations were more soberly weighed, we should be more cautious in concluding, *from insulated resemblances*, that we have discovered the accomplishment of some remarkable prophecies, in the events of our own times: we should follow the awful finger of Providence, with greater

hesitation as to our knowledge that its course, in any particular instance, has been previously marked out in the Divine Word; though certainly not with a less solemn conviction, that it is directed by One, "known unto whom are all His works from the beginning of the world."

Another cause of erroneous interpretation has been, the propensity of the mind, (while searching after resemblances between the prediction and the event,) *to neglect the great scope, and general character, of the prophecy, and to fix the attention upon the strict letter of some particular expression.* Some of the most trifling details of history have thus been supposed to be literally and circumstantially marked out in the inspired volume; and one or two imaginary coincidences of this nature, have too often been the foundation of a favorite system, which cannot be made to accord with other points of the same prediction, without the most violent hypotheses; thus we have the extremes, of literal interpretation, and of fanciful construction, united in the same expositor. We might instance, as examples of this contracted view of the Prophecies, the dogmatical manner in which some writers insist upon the literal millennial reign of Christ with his saints; the literal occupation of the Holy Land by the tribes of Israel and Judah at the period of their restoration; the literal conflicts of Antichrist and the false prophet with the saints of the Most High, proceeding even to minute details of military plan and of geographical position; and, more especially, the literal circumstances of modern campaigns, in the late struggles of continental powers. Surely this is to take a little and narrow view of the Prophetic writings. They are to be contemplated upon a more grand and magnificent scale. They seldom descend to those minute particulars which are so easily discovered by some modern commentators. We may apply to them what was said respecting the Oracle of Delphi, *το μαντειον ουτε λεγει, ουτε κρυπτει, αλλα σημαινει*, "*They neither plainly express,* nor studiously conceal, but intimate by signs.*" Prophecy shadows forth future events in their grand and distinguishing characters; it foretels, indeed, many individual circumstances, to demonstrate the prescience of its author; but it seldom descends to a literal and familiar detail of trivial occurrences, nor is it (generally speaking) to be under-

* It is obvious that we do not intend to apply this remark to any Prophecies but those of which the general character is *confessedly symbolical*. Other predictions, *confessedly literal*, do not fall within the scope of our observations. The foretelling of Cyrus, by name; the Prophecies relating to the captivities of the Jews; some of those which regard the Messiah; and many others, are *so professedly literal* declarations, that there can be no danger of mistaking their character.

stood in the confined sense of the actual figures which it adopts, "lest, by too minute a measure of its text, we should impair the proper splendour and magnitude of its comprehensive revelation."*

Perhaps one of the greatest obstacles to a clear understanding of the Prophecies, has been a misapprehension of what has usually been called *the double sense*. On the one hand, this method of interpretation has given rise to an unbridled license, and an unlimited latitude, which defies sound reasoning and sober criticism. Infinite conceits of an unprofitable ingenuity have corrupted the sacred oracles; and some Christian expositors have been scarcely less censurable than those Jewish commentators who boasted that they could elicit seventy mystical meanings from a single sentence! On the other hand, writers of a more logical turn of mind, have sometimes gone too far in their reprobation of the double sense of prophecy; and have thus unwarrantably limited its scope. What careful reader of the scriptures can doubt, that we have instances of the double sense, in many remarkable Prophecies relating to David and the Messiah, to Israel and the Church of God, to the return from Babylon and the deliverance from spiritual captivity, to the destruction of Jerusalem and the last judgment? There can be no danger of the double application, wherever the two events are so mutually related, and of such importance, that the reference of the Prophecy to each is perspicuous and obvious. We are not authorized, therefore, in discarding such a method of interpretation, in the indiscriminate way in which it is sometimes rejected. The prophetic Spirit disdains the limitations which the precise rules of human judgment would impose. "In this matter," says Lord Bacon, "a latitude must be admitted which is proper and familiar to the Divine Oracles, so that their fulfilments must not be required continuously and punctually; for they partake of the nature of their Author, with whom one day is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day: although their plenary and ultimate accomplishment may belong to a certain age or moment; yet they have, in the mean time, steps and degrees of accomplishment, through the various ages of the world."† This passage contains a wise and *enlarged* view of the subject; and it is from a perfect conviction that it is fully borne out by the contents of the Prophetic Volume, that we state our disapprobation of that rigid method which some modern authors have pushed to an unwarrantable extreme. The

* Davison on Prophecy, p. 409.

† Baconus, De Augm. Scient. Lib. II. Cap. 2.

nicest rules of art and of logic, are sometimes improperly applied to predictions, which are of too lofty a character to be limited by the little refinements of grammatical precision, or to be confined by the trammels of syllogistic reasoning. We are no advocates for a loose and arbitrary interpretation; but we think there is much force in the following remarks of a very profound writer:—"For the better understanding of prophetic writ, we must observe, that there is sometimes a seeming inconsistency in things spoken of, if we shall come to examine them by the strict rules of method: we must not, therefore, in the matter of any prophetic vision, look for a constant methodical contexture of things carried on in a perpetual coherence, . . . we find things of very different natures, and that were cast into periods of time secluded one from another by vast intervals, all couched together in the same vision: the prophetic spirit is most quick, spanning as it were from the centre to the circumference.*

To prophecies of a *strictly chronological* character, the remarks which we have just made must be applied with caution; and this induces us to point out one other source of erroneous interpretation, a *neglect of that regular succession of events*, which is implied in some predictions, by the very language in which they are expressed. Mr. Faber was, we believe, the first modern expositor, who insisted on the necessity of attention to this point; and, though in some instances, he appears to us to carry his *arithmetical* arguments too far, yet it must be allowed that he has done an acceptable service in this department of theological writing, by circumscribing the ground within which enquiry can be fairly instituted, when we are searching for the true interpretation of a prediction involving events which follow in a strictly chronological series. It is manifest that any other method opens a field fruitful in the wildest conjectures; nor need we wonder that the most opposite conclusions have been attained, when little regard has been paid to that order of time, and place, and circumstance, which affords the most decisive proof that the visions of prophecy and the events of history have a coincidence beyond the reach of ingenious arrangement, and far removed from the limits of fortuitous accomplishment.

There are some other sources of false interpretation, on which we might have felt inclined to remark, had not our observations been already drawn out to an unintended length. It is time that we give our readers some account of Mr. Cooper's volume. In expressing our opinion of its contents,

we shall do little more than advert to some of the principles which we have already laid down,—not in the language of dictatorial criticism, but, (we hope) in that candid and humble spirit which becomes us on this difficult subject:—they will thus be enabled to form their own judgment of the respective excellences and defects of this well-intentioned work.

Mr. Cooper's view, in the publication of his volume, is thus modestly stated by himself:—

“On the supposition that the conclusions to which he has arrived are really sound and legitimate, the consequences resulting from them are so momentous, and the Crisis in which the church of Christ now stands is so peculiarly awful, that he feels it a paramount duty not to withhold from the public the premises on which these conclusions are founded. . . . It is truth, and not the support of any favourite opinion of his own, which is the object of his pursuit. Let the view which he has taken of the points discussed in the following pages be fully and fairly canvassed. If he shall be proved by argument, or by subsequent events, to have advanced an erroneous interpretation of prophecy, he will only have failed in an attempt, in which a failure is no discredit, provided the attempt has been undertaken and conducted in a spirit of humility, diffidence, and prayer. It is in this spirit that the writer has endeavoured to proceed in the composition of this work; and it is in this spirit that he earnestly requests it may be read.” (Preface pp. x—xii.)

The “Crisis” to which Mr. Cooper thinks we are rapidly advancing, is that period in which, according to the Prophet Daniel, there will be a “time of trouble such as never was.” Its character is intimated by our Saviour as consisting in “distress of nations with perplexity;” and by St. John under the figure of a “great earthquake.” That an awful “Crisis” is approaching, cannot be doubted by any one who is conversant with the Prophetic Records; and those modern Expositors who differ from Mr. Cooper in his premises, will generally admit his great conclusion. The 1260 years cannot be *far* from their close, (even though we should not admit with Mr. Cooper and some others that they have *already* terminated, in 1792;) and it is abundantly manifest that, at this “Crisis,” the enemies of God—especially the Apostate Man of Sin and the False Prophet—will be overthrown in an awful conflict with his Church. There are *many* predictions which bear upon this point. Mr. Cooper has given a general sketch of their fulfilment, in a “Prophetical Chart,” the contents of which are very briefly and summarily considered (pp. xix.—xxviii:) but he has selected *one* particular prediction for more extended comment, viz. that contained in Daniel chap. xi. 36—45.,—which, in fact, forms the subject of this volume. We do not think that this very difficult passage has been

judiciously selected as the ground-work of Mr. Cooper's appeal. But as his *own* mind seems to have been deeply impressed with the supposed correspondence between the Prophecy and the Event, we shall give our readers an abstract of his Interpretation.

PROPHECY.
(*The Wilful King.*)
Daniel xi. 36—46.

DATES. INTERPRETATION.
A. D. (*Napoleon Buonaparte.*)

“ And the King shall do according to his will :

“ And he shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every god, and shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods, and shall prosper till the indignation be accomplished : for that that is determined shall be done. Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor the desire of women,* nor regard any god : for he shall magnify himself above all. But in his estate shall he honour the god of forces : and a god whom his fathers knew not shall he honour with gold, and silver, and with precious stones, and pleasant things. Thus shall he do in the most strong holds with a strange god, whom he shall acknowledge and increase with glory.

“ And he shall cause them to rule over many, and shall divide the land for gain.

“ And at the time of the end 1808 shall the king of the south push at him :

“ And the king of the north shall come against him like a whirlwind, with chariots, and with horsemen, and with many ships ; and he shall enter into the countries, and shall overflow, and pass over.

Napoleon pursues his despotic career, regardless of every moral consideration.

He denies Christ ; professes himself a Mussulman, Papist, or Infidel, as suits his purpose ; declares that his fortunes are under the guidance of the ‘ god of war ;’ and dedicates the Chapel of Invalids to Mars.

He ‘ prospers’ beyond all expectation ; until that part of the Divine ‘ indignation is accomplished,’ of which he was the appointed minister.

The spoil and riches obtained by his conquests, are dedicated as trophies of his military glory.

He divides and distributes the lands and dignities of the conquered countries among his captains and allies.

The Spanish Monarchy resists him, and ‘ pushes’ him beyond the Pyrenees.

The maritime power of England opposes his formidable career ; and, with her allies, gives the final blow to his dominion, on the plains of Waterloo.

* This expression has, we think, been shewn, beyond all doubt, to refer to the Messiah.

" He shall enter also into the 1799 He turns his arms against glorious land, and many coun- the Holy Land, and invades tries shall be overthrown; Syria.

" But these shall escape out 1799 He is supposed to have de- signed an expedition over land of his hand, *even* Edom, and into India, from Egypt. 'If he Moab, and the chief of the chil- had proceeded in this direction,' dren of Ammon. Arabia would have been over- run by his armies; but by a sud- den alteration of his plans, they escaped his meditated invasion.

" He shall stretch forth his 1799 He makes himself complete hand also upon the countries : master of Egypt. At Cairo he and the land of Egypt shall not escape. But he shall have issues arbitrary decrees; and power over the treasures of gold imposes an oppressive tax upon and of silver, and over all the the poorest villages, for the precious things of Egypt : maintenance of his troops.

" And the Lybians, and the 1799 He recruits his army from Ethiopians *shall be* at his steps. the conquered country.

" But tidings out of the east 1799 He is alarmed by the pre- parations of the Turks (in 'the north;') and by the intelligence (from 'the east') of the forces which the Pascha of Damascus is collecting, at St. Jean d'Acre. He therefore leaves Egypt for Palestine; where he makes some desperate, though disas- trous assaults.

" And he shall plant the ta- 1799 He pitches his camp in the bernacles of his palaces between Holy Land between the Dead the seas in the glorious holy and the Mediterranean Seas. mountain;

" Yet he shall come to his end, 1821 He is conveyed to St. Helena, a prisoner for life. A general persuasion exists, that he will yet escape, or that some attempt will be made for his re- lease; but he dies there in help- less captivity.

Our outline of Mr. Cooper's interpretation of this prophecy is, obviously, very concise; but we believe it will be found to give a fair view of the opinions which he entertains respecting this remarkable prediction. Eleven chapters of the work are occupied with a discussion of the various particulars included in the above sketch; and Mr. C— sums up the whole by the following remark:—

" In all these particulars predicted respecting 'the king who

should do according to his will,' as they relate to the time of his appearance, to his character, to his exploits, and to his end, Napoleon appears to have exhibited so full a correspondence, so clear and striking a resemblance, as seems to justify the conclusion that he was in fact the very identical individual, whom it was the design of the Holy Spirit in this remarkable vision to designate; but respecting whom the book was to be sealed, and the designation to be unperceived, till he should have fulfilled the office assigned to him, and have 'come to his end,' in the manner predicted." (P. 55.)

Such is Mr. Cooper's view of this remarkable prediction. The same interpretation has been advanced by previous writers; and particularly by Mr. Frere, with this difference, however, that he supposes Napoleon to be alluded to by the "*vile person*" in the 21st verse, whereas Mr. Cooper thinks that the reference to the French emperor does not appear earlier than in the 36th verse. So confident was Mr. Frere of the accuracy of his system, that, in May 1815, he ventured to PREDICT * that Buonaparte would perish in the Holy Land! Mr. Cooper writes in a more diffident style. He has been enabled, also, to give a more consistent interpretation, from the circumstance of his writing *after* the death of Napoleon.

That Mr. Cooper's exposition of this prophecy is open to many serious difficulties, (if it be not altogether inconclusive,) will be obvious, we conceive, even upon a cursory inspection, to such of our readers as have given any attention to discussions of this nature. We admit that a mind, not habituated to close consideration of this very difficult subject, may be so struck by the resemblance between *individual circumstances* in the event which is supposed to have been the object of the prediction, and *insulated portions* of the prophecy itself, as to be easily led to a hasty acquiescence in a tolerably plausible interpretation. We shall briefly state some of our objections; we are aware that Mr. Cooper has anticipated most of them, but he has failed, (as we conceive,) in his attempt to obviate them.

That this prophecy must necessarily be interpreted of *an individual king*, is by no means manifest. Mr. Cooper, argues, analogically, (Pp. 13—17.), that, because the *kings* spoken of in the beginning of this chapter, have been proved, by the events, to be individual princes of Persia, therefore the wilful *king* referred to in its close must necessarily be *an individual*, and not a dominant power, or a succession of monarchs ruling a particular empire. Mr. Faber, though the great advocate for '*homogeneity*' of language in prophetic diction,—does not scruple to apply this term to the

* See the passage quoted in a former note, (p. 243.)

infidel *power* of France; as his predecessor Bishop Newton had done to the papal *power* of Rome. Nor do we place much confidence in an argument, like Mr. Cooper's, founded upon such nicety and precision in the use of a particular expression. He himself, indeed, is compelled to abandon his own principle in the progress of his exposition; for though he maintains that the wilful "king" *must* denote an *individual*; he allows that the "King of the North" (in verse 40), is to be applied, not only to the *individual* English monarch, but also to "his numerous and powerful allies" who "are doubtless *included with him* in the prophetic description." (Pp. 50, 51.) He himself admits, also, that we have not

"any ground for believing that *one instrument alone* will be employed as the executioner of divine vengeance in these protracted and complicated visitations. We should rather infer, from various passages of Scripture, that the contrary will be the case." (P. 44.)

As we are not satisfied with the necessity of restricting this prophecy to *any* individual, so neither does it appear to us that it applies to that *particular* person whom Mr. Cooper thinks it so strikingly points out. The prediction declares that the king who shall do according to his will "shall prosper *till* the indignation be accomplished," (ver. 36.) The attempt to reconcile this with the fact that Buonaparte "came to his end" *before* a complete or even signal overthrow of the enemies of God had taken place, is altogether inconclusive. After a laboured preface (P. 43, 44.) to his solution of this difficulty, Mr. Cooper adds,

"When, therefore, it is said of the king, that he shall prosper *till the indignation be accomplished*, we may understand this expression as applying, not to the *whole of the* divine indignation, but merely to that part or portion of it, of which he was to be the appointed minister." (P. 45.)

If this be not an elusion of the plain import of the passage, we scarcely know what can be called such. Daniel speaks of an "*accomplishment*" of indignation; Mr. Cooper says this means "*not the whole*," but "*a part*;" namely, *that* portion which the Most High designed to accomplish through this particular instrument! It is surely manifest that the Prophet alludes to that period of complete deliverance of the saints of the Most High from spiritual and political tyranny, "when he shall have *accomplished* to scatter the power of the holy people" and when "*all these things shall be finished*." (Dan. xii. 7.) Since the wilful king, (whatever power that figure may denote,) is to "*prosper till*" such a period arrive, we have undoubtedly a test of interpretation by which Buonaparte is excluded.

It will be observed that Daniel's prophecy of the wilful king, dwells chiefly upon his exploits in Egypt and the Holy Land; accordingly the exposition attempted by Mr. Cooper necessarily brings before us, in a very prominent manner, the military operations of Buonaparte in those countries. We can scarcely doubt that the prophecy would display the character of the antichristian power, to which it relates, by dwelling principally upon the circumstances which should hereafter form the most striking part of its history. But in the military career of the late usurper, the temporary successes in Egypt, and the invasion of Palestine, are absolutely insignificant in comparison with his victories over the European powers. Now, if the interpretation before us be correct, then Buonaparte's tyrannical subjugation of almost the whole of the European continent, is predicted in the following general expressions,—“he shall do according to his will,”—“he shall prosper till the indignation be accomplished,”—and “shall cause them to rule over many;”—while his partial, and almost momentary successes in Africa, and his attempts in Asia, are minutely detailed in the larger portion of this remarkable prediction. This is improbable, to say the least;—and we conceive it is a consideration of no small weight, in estimating the correctness of an interpretation charged with so many other objections.

But, even were we to admit that this difficulty is not insuperable, we find it absolutely impossible to reconcile the language of the prediction with the historical facts connected with the French expedition to the East. The prophecy runs thus—“He shall enter also into the glorious land, and many countries shall be overthrown; but these shall escape out of his hand, even Edom, and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon. He shall stretch forth his hand also upon the countries; and the land of Egypt shall not escape.” We are here plainly told that, while *Palestine, and the neighbouring countries including Egypt*, should fall into his power, the region of Arabia should unexpectedly be delivered from his grasp. In Buonaparte's career, there were no facts of this description. His attempt on the Holy Land was signal-ly disastrous; none of the adjacent territories, *except Egypt*, were over-run by his army; and Arabia cannot be said to have “*escaped out of his hand*,” *more than any other region into which he never attempted to penetrate*. Upon the latter subject, however, Mr. Cooper observes—

“*It is generally believed, that one professedly understood object of Napoleon's expedition into Egypt was to attempt a passage over-land into India, with the view of attacking Great Britain in that which was*

deemed her most vulnerable part. And with this design, early in December, 1798, Napoleon went to Suez to survey the isthmus, and to make the necessary preparations for marching his army in that direction, as soon as the season would admit. And *if* he had proceeded in this direction, Edom and Moab, and the children of Ammon, (the countries formerly inhabited by those nations,) would have been over-run by his armies. But unexpected tidings suddenly altered his plans; by which circumstance these countries 'escaped out of his hands.' " (Pp. 39, 40.)

We think it our duty to enter a decided protest against such a method of exposition as this. If political conjectures, and hypothetical statements, are to be admitted (in the place of facts) as the grounds of interpretation of the most distinct and circumstantial predictions in the Bible, we can conceive of no limit to the play of imagination exercised upon these subjects. In the same view we seriously object to chapter xiii. of this work; as exhibiting a lax and fanciful method of interpretation, calculated to bring the subject of Prophecy into low estimation: we are quite sure, however, that the pious Author would be grieved at the thought of such a result from any thing flowing from *his* pen. The prediction assures us, that, at the close of the career of the wilful King, some remarkable deliverance shall be wrought for the Jews: "*at that time* shall Michael stand up, the great prince which standeth for the children of thy people: and there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation even to *that same time*: and *at that time* thy people shall be delivered, &c. And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, &c. (Dan. xii. 1, 2.)." Here we have a distinct and an awful prediction, standing in connection with a well defined period,—the "end" of the wilful King. Now as Buonaparte "came to his end" in the year 1821, Mr. Cooper admits (as he *must* do, to be consistent,) that 1822

"was the precise year which the angel predicted." (P. 78.)

"This obviously suggests (continues Mr. Cooper) a very pertinent and interesting question. What, it may be asked, was the event in that year, which corresponded with the one thus predicted in the vision? But to this question the author cannot undertake, with any precision, to reply." (P. 80.)

We cannot but approve the modesty and sincerity of this confession; and we think it ought to have pointed out to the Author a much greater difficulty, in the way of his proposed interpretation of the whole prophecy, than he is willing to allow. He proceeds, however, to explain away the clear language of the prediction, and to suggest a most fanciful interpretation, of which the following is a fair account. The words "*at that time*," Mr. Cooper tells us, may mean "*about that time*."

Further ; Michael may actually have stood up in 1822, though (from the circumstance of his being an invisible agent) we do not yet perceive either the manner or the place of his operations. Two events, however, *did* occur in that year, which "*may hereafter prove*" to have had a connection with the political deliverance of the Jews. These were (we are still giving Mr. C's sentiments,) the Congress at Verona ; and the matured state of the Greek insurrection. The Congress at Verona developed principles which led to the invasion of Spain by France ; this "*may*" accelerate the downfall of Popery, which we know *is* connected with the restoration of the Jews ! The Greek insurrection, "*may*" bring on the destruction of the Turkish Empire ; and this event is probably connected with the return of the Jews to their own land (for so some commentators interpret Rev. xvi. 12.) ! Such is Mr. Cooper's view. Here we have hypothesis involved in hypothesis ; "*cycle in epicycle, orb in orb* ;" ingeniously framed to work in connexion with each other, till the complicated machinery effects the desired result. Who can fail to observe, that the premises and the conclusions of Mr. Cooper's arguments, hang together by a thread of infinite tenuity ? But the note which closes the whole of this objectionable chapter, is still more fanciful in its indirect allusion to the prophecy ; (for we cannot believe that Mr. Cooper intended that it should be gravely referred to the solemn prediction which we have above quoted ;)

"A new gold coinage for Greece has been lately executed at Paris, under the direction of Denon, the traveller. On one side is the *archangel Michael* with a flaming sword, and a dove ; the latter, the symbol of peace. On the reverse, a lion, the emblem of strength, encircled by a serpent, meant to indicate eternity, and around, the word "*Resurrection.*" (P. 88.)

Our remarks upon the interpretation of this prophecy, proposed by Mr. Cooper, must not be concluded without our noticing an objection which equally effects the whole and every part of it :—it altogether *neglects Chronological arrangement*. It begins with a general statement, which, from its nature, can be referred to no precise year ; it then proceeds to the year 1808 ; it leaps back to 1799 ; then it remains steady through the greater part of the prophecy, till it suddenly drops, (in the last few words of the prediction,) into the year 1821. Mr. Cooper has endeavoured to obviate this difficulty, and expresses an opinion that the *chronological sequence* of events is designedly * interrupted for the purpose

* Mr. Cooper supports his view, of a designed disregard to the particular order of succession of events, by a criticism on the language of the Prophecy

of "precluding premature disclosures." (P. 60.) But does not the supposition of an involution of dates, and a neglect of the order of events, take away from the predictions of the Inspired Volume all that is definite and distinct in the character of chronological prophecy; and open a door to an endless variety of supposed accomplishments, sustained (like Mr. Cooper's) by nothing better than an ingenious arrangement of its several parts? We know of no canon of interpretation which it is more necessary to observe, in predictions strictly chronological, than that the series of the prophetic visions and of the historical facts should be concurrent.

We have been led so greatly to extend our remarks upon the general subject of prophecy, and particularly with reference to modern events, that we can do little more than merely notice the remaining part of Mr. Cooper's volume; in which he applies his interpretation of this particular prediction, to the prospects and duties of the Church of Christ, in the momentous "CRISIS" which he believes to be at hand. The subject, on which we have already detained our readers, appears to us of very great importance; for we cannot but think that the multiplied speculations, and repeated failures of writers upon the prophecies, in their relation to modern events, have a dangerous tendency, by leading the superficial inquirer to confound what is certain with what is conjectural in this subject. We regret that our limits will not permit us to enter on the pleasing task of following Mr. Cooper through the remainder of his volume, from page 120. to the end. *This* portion of the work has our unqualified approbation: it brings the excellent author before us, in the character in which we have so often delighted to enter into his society,—as the *able practical expositor* of religious truth, enforcing his admonitions with that warmth, and affection, and earnestness, which are so well calculated to gain the attention of his readers. Chapters XVIII to XXIII, are occupied by a serious consideration of "Christ's admonition to his Church in the present Crisis:"—"Behold, I come as a thief;

which will not bear the slightest examination. His words are these—"The way in which the Egyptian expedition is introduced to our notice shows that it has not necessarily any *consecutive connexion* with the circumstances related in the preceding verse. '*He shall enter ALSO into the glorious land,*'---as if it had been said, '*AMONG HIS OTHER exploits this ALSO shall be one.*'" (Pp. 57, 58.) This is a mere play upon the words of the *English translation*; though, even from *this*, we should not have drawn the same inference as Mr. Cooper. But the original *Hebrew* has the common conjunction, (וְ) corresponding with the Greek copula (καὶ εἰσελεύσεται,) "AND he shall enter." The expression, in fact, in *no* way differs from that adopted in the other clauses of this prediction.

blessed is he that watcheth, and keepeth his garments, lest he walk naked, and they see his shame."

"The true people of Christ, though ignorant of the precise day and hour in which the final judgments of God will fall on his apostate church, yet, forewarned of their near approach, are, in some degree, watching and waiting for it,—those who will be the immediate objects of his wrath, will continue utterly insensible of the gathering storm, and will consequently make no efforts to avert it, till they shall be suddenly overwhelmed by its desolating fury. How awfully and circumstantially do the great nations of the Papal earth, at this moment, answer to this description! Unreclaimed by past judgments and mercies, and undisturbed by apprehensions of impending evils, they are, in general, still cleaving, even with increased tenacity, to their superstitions, abominations, and idolatries; still pertinaciously excluding from themselves the light of the word of God; still maintaining and encouraging a spirit of bigotry and intolerance; some of them resuming with redoubled and with tenfold guilt their iniquitous traffic in human flesh; and others pursuing with unabated zeal their selfish objects of interest or ambition; while, in the mean time, they discern not the subterranean fire, which is secretly at work, making preparation at the appointed moment for the production of that 'great earthquake, such as has not been since men were upon the earth, so mighty an earthquake, and so great;'—one early effect of which will be, that 'Great Babylon will come in remembrance before God, to give unto her the cup of the wine of the fierceness of his wrath.'" (Pp. 130, 131.)

"Warned by these examples, let the servant of the Lord be humble. In these days of peculiar trial and peril... let him *watch*; let him be on his guard; let him walk circumspectly. In deep humility let him pray for help in every time of need; and, while he thus watcheth and keepeth his garments, let him in faith commit them into the keeping of the Lord; who alone can preserve them without spot or blemish, and can keep them pure unto the end." (Pp. 145, 146.)

This admonitory strain is pursued from page 120. to page 181. We strongly recommend to every one of our readers a serious perusal of this part of the volume: it will be found, not only suitable to the "Crisis" which may be at hand, but admirably adapted to every season of the Christian life and warfare. In Chapters XXIV. and XXV, we have an "Inquiry into the probable destiny of England during the approaching period of unprecedented trouble." Chapters XXVI to XXX, embrace a "Retrospective and comparative view of the state of England, during the greater part of the eighteenth century to the present period," with a particular reference to the French revolution and the period of the revolutionary war. Mr. Cooper takes, on the whole, a cheering view of the destiny and present condition of our favoured land. She separated from the Church of Rome, and still continues to maintain

her separation. Having ceased to be a partaker of Babylon's sins, he concludes, that she will not receive of her plagues; but will be made a monument of mercy, and be spared in the day of indignation. His view of the moral and political state of Great Britain, is candid and judicious. He by no means disguises our national sins; but he congratulates his countrymen upon that measure of moral and religious eminence to which England is exalted; carefully observing, however, to refer this distinction to the unmerited favour of Him to whom she is indebted for all her privileges. He sums up the whole by

"indulging a hope, that the Almighty does regard this country with sentiments different from those with which he looks upon the Papal kingdoms; that when he shall desolate and destroy *them*, he will not involve *her* in their judgments; but that, having separated her by his grace and providence from their abominations, he will protect her from the fury of the storm; and will preserve her a monument of divine mercy, and a refuge for true religion." (Pp. 232, 233.)

In dismissing this work,—while we state our decided opinion as to its value and seasonableness, we must repeat our regret, that such excellent *practical matter* should have been placed in connexion with so *fanciful an interpretation* of a very difficult and, at present, obscure portion of prophecy. We could wish to see a work, undertaken with the design, and executed in the spirit, of Mr. Cooper's; but founded upon an extended view of those prophecies respecting which there is a more general agreement of opinion. There are many predictions of this character, which might be shown to have a *distinct bearing* upon "the Crisis" which seems to be at hand. It might be shown (from several general views, and less controverted matters than that on which Mr. C. has fixed his attention,) that the great period of 1260 years is either elapsed, or is *near* its termination;—that the promised restoration of the Jews (whether it be of a temporal or spiritual nature,) and the conversion of the Gentiles, are events to be confidently expected at no distant time;—that the present state of the world, conspires with the anticipations of prophecy, in pointing out the accomplishment of some great designs of the Almighty. It might be shown, by *convincing scriptural evidence*, (independently of the *controverted details of obscure predictions*,) that, with the events just noticed, are closely connected the downfall of the Papal Apostacy, and the awful controversy of God with the enemies of his Church. An earnest appeal, founded upon such plain views of the approaching "Crisis," would be eminently useful; and would at once commend itself to the under-

standing, and find its way to the heart. Such a work *has*, in some measure, been anticipated by Mr. Bickersteth, in his valuable little pamphlet, entitled, "Practical Remarks on the Prophecies, &c.;" but this short tract does not fully embrace the view which we have sketched. The ground is still open. No one can profitably survey this region, if he enter upon it in the spirit of merely speculative curiosity:—it is "holy ground;" and we know of no individual by whom it could be more usefully explored, than by Mr. Cooper himself.

ART. XIII.—*History of the Peninsular War.* By Robert Southey, Esq. LL.D. Poet Laureate, Honorary Member of the Spanish Academy, &c. In Three Volumes. Vol. I. 4to. London. Murray, 1823. Pp. vi. and 806.

THE true value of any event may be estimated by the moral lesson to be derived from it. In such a view the Peninsular War assumes a character of striking importance. When it burst forth to the astonishment of prostrate nations, as they stood aghast at the perfidy by which it was awakened; its author was in the zenith of his power, and, to the shame of thousands whom our common Christianity should have taught a better lesson, in the zenith of his popularity.

"With all the ports of the continent at his command, he could build ships in any number:*** he was at leisure to continue his system of aggrandizement; for wherever there was no sea to intervene, there was nothing to withstand him. His projects, even in the fullest extent of their ambition, were thought feasible by the public, who throughout Europe were dazzled by his success. His power appeared irresistible; and his empire was supposed by all persons to be firmly established, except by those who, having a firm reliance upon the moral order of the world, believed that the triumph of evil principles could only endure for a time, and that no system can be permanent which is founded upon irreligion, injustice, and violence." (P. 61.)

Hitherto the military efforts of Buonaparte had been directed against organized and disciplined armies of men, who, however brave themselves, were commanded by generals decidedly his inferiors in military science; too frequently corrupted either by the philosophy of France, or the gold of its ruler; and sent into the field by ministers who had sold themselves to his designs, and were willing, from a cold-blooded avarice to extend the sway of their idol, by measures involving

the destruction of their countrymen. Amidst the various occurrences of this gigantic and portentous contest, the people were passive. They had either drank deeply of the drugged and lethargic cup of a godless philosophy, which made them contemplate its child and champion, the hero of Jacobinism, with blind veneration,—or they had learned to despise the governments and constitutions under which they lived, and to regard them as worth no effort, no sacrifice, nothing of that lofty daring or contempt of death, with which nobler spirits, in better times, had vindicated alike the liberty of their country and the honour of their nature. The people of continental Europe, whom Buonaparte had invaded and vanquished, were, for the most part, military nations. They made war according to rule and system. When armies were defeated, their ranks thinned, their spirits broken, their materiel taken or destroyed, all farther resistance was judged to be vain and useless. Whatever accorded not with received principles of military calculations, and with scientific systems of military tactics, was regarded with utter hopelessness by the conquered; and the victor never found an impediment beyond the efforts of those whose trade was war. It hardly, therefore, entered the imagination either of the sufferers or the despot, that safety to the one, or ruin to the other, could arise out of a popular resistance. Less still did either contemplate the possibility, that men provided with no other impulse than the love of their country, their institutions, their social ties, their altars, and even their superstitions, and with no other appliances and means of meeting their enemies than their own valour might afford, should dare to confront the soldiers before whose victorious march the land was as the garden of Eden, and behind them a desolate wilderness. The war in Spain became an era in the history of mankind, because it broke the spell of this enchantment, and disabused the minds of men, that they should no longer arraign or doubt the wise and gracious order of providence, by imagining that such a career as that of Buonaparte could continue uninterrupted; or that the materials of his power, discordant as the parts of Nebuchadnezzar's image, could be cemented for a perpetuity of dominion.

In fact, no man, called upon to act so distinguished a part in the revolutions of the world, had ever read and studied its history with less real profit and advantage. With its leading events he was no doubt familiar; with its philosophy he was wholly unacquainted. If he reasoned at all upon past occurrences, it was not in the enlarged spirit and with the com-

prehensive mind of a legislator or sage, who knows that in every climate of their habitation, and in every generation of their being, men are influenced by the same causes, however the operation of those causes may be modified or retarded by subordinate circumstances. He thought like a mere soldier, finding himself the presiding and motive power of a physical force, which in the particular direction of its action had hitherto been resistless; and which he vainly thought was calculated to be equally successful in every possible field of its exercise and application. If any doubts of this invincibility were ever forced upon his mind, or the engine of his success seemed to work more feebly than he wished, a system of corruption more flagrant than the world had ever witnessed was put into action. The effect answered the expectation of a man, who, himself bound by no high and honourable feelings, could hardly imagine their existence in others; and whose bribes were as open and shameless as those of the rival monarchs, when they sent their loads of treasure to purchase the dignity of the Empire in the sixteenth century. Without country or patriotic affections, he could not realize the character of a citizen, because he had always seen it merged in that of a soldier: and having himself ascended to the height of power upon the shoulders of a tumultuous and sanguinary mob, he regarded every popular movement with the contempt and dislike natural to tyrants, who hate, fear, or despise, the means of their guilty elevation.

The Spanish War removed the veil of this ignorance from before his eyes. It taught him that his worst resistance,—that which he was least prepared to meet, and by which the star of his ascendant was for ever obscured, arose not from the shock of disciplined armies, but from the reaction of that popular feeling which he had despised and insulted. It taught him, and it taught the world, that most salutary and animating lesson, that a nation of ten millions of men, with arms in their hands, courage in their hearts, and fastnesses in their land, could never be effectually vanquished and enslaved. They might be the victims of an impotent and vicious government—their minds might be enfeebled by a degrading superstition—their efforts crippled by the treachery of a base and time-serving aristocracy, that fawned upon their tyrants—their monarch and leaders might be inveigled into captivity; and the master-minds that should have directed them might be held either under servile restraint or timid abandonment of their duty. There would, however, be still a watchword which every man's heart would understand, and

an appeal to which every man's heart would give an answering throb, as it ran through the land with the speed of the fiery cross, and aroused its slumbering inhabitants to the just and necessary strife before them.

We cannot indeed go hand in hand with our historian, in passages like the following, which seems to invest the principle of action throughout Spain, not less than in Zaragoza, with the sacredness of essential religion.

"Let not the faith which animated the Aragonese be called superstition, because our Lady of the Pillar, Santiago, and St. Engracia, were its symbols. It was virtually and essentially religion, in its inward life and spirit; it was the sense of what they owed equally to their forefathers and their children; the knowledge that their cause was as righteous as any for which an injured and insulted people ever rose in arms; the hope that by the blessing of God upon that cause they might succeed; the certain faith that if they fell, it was with the feeling, the motive, and the merit of martyrdom. Life or death, therefore, became to the Zaragozans only not indifferent, because life was useful to the cause for which they held it in trust, and were ready to lay it down: they who fell expired in triumph, and the survivors rather envied than regretted them. The living had no fears for themselves, and for the same reason they could have no sorrows for the dead. The whole greatness of our nature was called forth, . . . a power which had lain dormant, and of which the possessors themselves had not suspected the existence, till it manifested itself in the hour of trial." (P. 423.)

In many instances, doubtless, the devotion of the Spaniards was associated with religious sentiments;—in more, with a deep and powerful love of those institutions and rites, which had been long cherished, as identified with the reality and living principle of religion. In every mind the virtue of patriotism was in its most lively exercise; and even superstition, as we have said, supplied motives of action, which, under the direction of an overruling Providence, were productive of effects easily mistaken for the operations of religion. A scene of things so brilliant and so uncommon, is greatly calculated to mislead even sober judgments; especially when, as in the case of Dr. Southey, they have already received a bias from early attachment, admiration of character, and intimate acquaintance with the high and romantic lore of the country. We surely do the men of Spain no injustice, in hesitating to admit the universality of a religious principle as the cause of their exertions; while, at the same time, we acknowledge, in the most unqualified manner, the pure and exalted character of their intentions, and the presence of as much sacred feeling as was ever mingled with the ordinary causes of modern warfare.

The same error into which his admirers throughout Europe had fallen, assisted to deceive Buonaparte in his shameless attack upon the liberties of Spain. When his armies came into the field of battle, "like reapers descending to the harvest of death," they saw the disciplined troops of Spain fall before them, as sheaves of corn before the sickle. All resistance in the open field was unavailing and hopeless against men who had triumphed over every power professedly military in Europe. The admirers of Buonaparte at home, and himself in Spain, never dreamed of the fearful account to which his armies would be called by a few desultory bands of guerillas, who confined them to the land upon which they stood, harassed them with incessant marches, intercepted their provisions, slew every straggler and plunderer, and made it necessary to employ one army in keeping open the communications of another. Neither in England, nor in France, nor by the French usurper, was it sufficiently considered, that such a mode of warfare was the most destructive that could be imagined of the spirit, the moral feeling, the discipline, and therefore the efficiency of an army. • While the French troops were opposed to formidable and warlike numbers—while both themselves and their enemies were arrayed in the "pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war," their courage, genius, tactics, and remembrance of former victories made them invincible. But when harassed by the pursuit of enemies, whose local knowledge afforded equal means of escape or pursuit, and falling by invisible hands, discontent, mutiny, sickness, and desertion, were the unavoidable results. Such a state of things was confessed in the narrative of M. Rocca.

The very ignorance of the Spanish people, the deterioration of personal and mental character which in this unhappy country had attended the decline of its grandeur, and the debasement of its political institutions, operated with terrible force against Buonaparte, in his unrighteous warfare. The Spaniards are the most legendary people in Europe. Their best poetry is associated with the ages of romance and chivalry. Their forefathers, in every authentic period of Spanish history, until the days of Ferdinand and Isabella, were a wronged, insulted, and oppressed people. Century after century were they compelled to struggle against the aggressions of Carthaginian, Roman, Goth, or Moor, bravely defending the recesses of their mountain-holds, and gathering strength from patriotism and despair; until they at length delivered the land from its foreign enemies, and placed Spain in her proper rank among the mightiest nations of Christendom.

With the most brilliant and 'spirit-stirring periods of those ages the literature of the people of Spain is familiar, and to them it is almost exclusively confined. The names of Pelayo, Alphonso, the Cid, and the memory of their exploits, have never been displaced or obliterated by subjects of more recent interest. The lengthened reign of bigotry and superstition had, as it were, separated Spain from the intellectual world: and, whether the barriers to the introduction of knowledge were the Pyrenees or the sea, her infatuated councils had placed her in a state of blockade against the introduction of knowledge from every other quarter. A profound judge of mankind sought the character of a people, not in their bulky histories, but in the songs and ballads in circulation among them. The wild legends of Spain mingle poetry with the most heroic actions of real life: and while the peasant, knowing little beyond, treads the hills and glens on which his hardy forefathers fought and conquered, he is prepared by long habits of thought, and by the insulated condition of his life, to foster heroic sentiments within, and act upon them in the hour of need. The periods succeeding to the age of chivalry in Spain, if indeed that age were not continued, beams with names almost unrivalled in the records of mankind, for enthusiastic valour and unconquerable perseverance. Columbus, Pizarro, Cortes, and the men who laid the foundations of the Spanish power throughout the vast extent of the New World, are current in every mouth, and every memory is familiar with their daring exploits. Ill-acquainted with the subsequent and more degrading events which have so wofully sunk the character of his country, the Spaniard preserved and nourished that chivalrous glow of feeling, which the foul oppressions of his invader could not fail to call forth. The lower classes, indeed, as Dr. Southey observes,

"were peculiarly depraved in Spain, from the effect of what may be called their vulgar, rather than their popular literature. The ruffian and the bravo were the personages of those ballads which were strung for sale along dead walls in frequented streets, and vended by blind hawkers about the country." (P. 10.)

The deteriorating influence of such writings, however, forms no objection to the principles already advanced. It merely prepared the Spaniards for acting against their enemies with an utter disregard of life, and too frequently of all moral obligation, which, indeed, Buonaparte could hardly condemn, because he had himself set the example. He poured in disciplined and practised troops, inured to war and familiar with victory, in numbers irresistible by open warfare. Army after army

fell before them : but when he thought success already certain, and the reward of his unexampled perfidy already within his grasp, a class of warriors arose, of whose very existence he had never dreamed. The same implacable, sudden, and insulated warfare which had anciently recovered the land, inch by inch, from the mountains of Asturias, to the minarets of Granada, was employed against his legions, until, in concert with the English armies, they forced him from every strong hold in the country, drove back the tide of invasion which had overflowed it, and finally ended the contest before the walls of Toulouse.

The Peninsular war also possesses an interest to which an Englishman must be peculiarly alive. It forms an era in the military history of Great Britain. It taught her senators and ministers the magnitude of her resources and the true way of employing them. Instead of continuing to send insulated and inadequate expeditions to points of attack, where the result must necessarily be as unworthy as were the means of obtaining it—instead of subsidizing nations to fight their own battles, or providing them with the means of purchasing a dishonourable safety for themselves by the sacrifice of common interests—instead of furnishing gold which was employed to betray the givers to their enemies ; England learned from this momentous struggle to bring forward the invincible spirit, and generous devotedness, of her own armies. It was discovered that frugality, national honour, the safety of Britain, and the welfare of Europe, equally urged us to come forward to the help of a generous enemy whom an unexampled treachery had cast into toils, to be broken by no other hands, than those which had so long struggled alone in the great cause of liberty and order. We were thus taught duly to estimate both our own strength, and that of our enemies. The experiment was made on no confined or common scale ; but by a series of victories continued almost in unbroken succession from the first skirmish at Roliça to the consummation of the war upon the field of Waterloo. The men who thus utterly and hopelessly beat down the despotism of Buonaparte, and eclipsed his military glory, learned by the effort, that with the divine blessing upon their cause, they had nothing to fear, if the flame of war should be again enkindled, and they be once more called forth to defend the liberties of their own or of other lands.

In these points of view, and because few families could be found throughout the country without a relative or connexion taking part in the mighty strife, the war of Spain possesses

an interest which no other event of our day can pretend to claim. A history of the causes in which it originated, the manner in which it was conducted, and the triumph by which it was closed, was of course naturally expected. The first volume of Dr. Southey's effort to fulfil this expectation, is now before the public; and cannot fail to satisfy all readers how correctly they judged of the author's qualifications for his arduous undertaking. We subjoin the introductory chapter, as exhibiting a very beautiful and eloquent development of his views, in addressing himself to the execution of this eventful history.

"The late war in the Peninsula will be memorable above all of modern times. It stands alone for the perfidiousness with which the French commenced it, and the atrocious system upon which they carried it on. The circumstances of the resistance are not less extraordinary than those of the aggression, whether we consider the total disorganization to which the kingdom of Spain was reduced; the inveterate abuses which had been entailed upon it by the imbecility, misrule, and dotage, of its old despotism; the inexperience, the weakness, and the errors, of the successive governments which grew out of the necessities of the times; or the unexampled patriotism and endurance of the people, which bore them through these complicated disadvantages. There are few portions of history from which lessons of such political importance are to be deduced; none which can more powerfully and permanently excite the sympathy of mankind, because of the mighty interests at stake. For this was no common war, of which a breach of treaty, an extension of frontier, a distant colony, or a disputed succession, serves as the cause or pretext: it was as direct a contest between the principles of good and evil as the elder Persians, or the Manicheans, imagined in their fables: it was for the life or death of national independence, national spirit, and of all those holy feelings which are comprehended in the love of our native land. Nor was it for the Peninsula alone that the war was waged: it was for England and for Europe; for literature and for liberty; for domestic morals and domestic happiness; for the vital welfare of the human race. Therefore I have thought that I could not better fulfil my duties to mankind, and especially to my own country, nor more fitly employ the leisure wherewith God has blessed me, nor endeavour in any worthier manner to transmit my name to future ages, than by composing, with all diligence, the faithful history of this momentous struggle. To this resolution I have been incited, as an Englishman, by the noble part which England has borne in these events; and as an individual, by the previous course of my studies, which, during the greater part of my life, have been so directed, that the annals and the literature of Spain and Portugal have become to me almost as familiar as our own. It is not strange, then, that having thus, as it were, intellectually naturalized myself in those countries, I should have watched them with the liveliest interest through their dreadful trial: and being thus prepared for the task, having some local knowledge

of the scene of action, rich in accumulated materials, and possessing access to the best and highest sources of information, I undertake it cheerfully; fully assured that the principles herein to be inculcated and exemplified are established upon the best and surest foundation, and that nations can be secure and happy only in proportion as they adhere to them." (Pp. 1, 2.)

The work is ushered in with a very admirable and comprehensive statement of the character of revolutionary France, and of the man who had made her the slave of his wanton ambition. We have read this chapter again and again with unqualified pleasure, as exhibiting in the most lucid manner, the necessary process that conducts the wild and lawless anarchy of an insurrectionary government, into the stern relentless tyranny of a military despotism, armed alike against the repose of the country that endures it, and of the nations which surround it. The following passage will serve to shew, that, upon his own depraved and debasing principles, Buonaparte acted with singular sagacity in his endeavours to make France one vast camp, and the devotedness of her inhabitants subservient to his will.

"The youth who were trained up in military habits had been taught, in their first catechism, that they owed to their Emperor Napoleon, love, respect, obedience, fidelity, military services, and the contributions required for the preservation and defence of the empire, and of his throne: that God, who creates empires and disposes of them according to his will, had, by endowing Napoleon with a profusion of gifts as well in peace as in war, made him the minister of his power, and his image upon earth: to honour and serve the Emperor was therefore the same thing as to honour and serve God; and they who violated their duty towards him, would resist the order which God himself had established, and render themselves worthy of eternal damnation. The religious sanction which was thus given to his authority had its full effect in childhood, and when this feeling lost its influence, devotion to the Emperor had become a habit which every thing around them contributed to confirm and strengthen." (P. 41.)

The unbounded wealth and honours lavished by feeble monarchs upon unworthy favourites have been the bane of nations in every age of the world, and of none more than Spain during the latter periods of her history. Pre-eminent however among the intolerable mischiefs thus produced, stands the infatuated attachment of Charles IV. for Don Emanuel Godoy, at once the licentious paramour of a shameless queen, and the utterly incompetent minister of an indignant and groaning land. He does not indeed appear to have been corrupted by French gold, to assist in the wickedness that was devising against his country; but in the course of those events which his own profligacy advanced, to have been

drawn within the all-devouring vortex of French ambition, and to have accepted a portion for himself in the contemplated dismemberment of Portugal, which was intended to form the first act in the approaching tragedy. All the subservience of this latter kingdom to the views of Buonaparte had failed of securing her existence as a state even nominally independent: and the treaty of Fontainebleau was meant to erase her name from among the ancient dynasties of Europe. The king of Etruria, by this most iniquitous compact, ceding his Italian possessions, in full and entire sovereignty, to Buonaparte, was to have the province of Entre Minho e Douro, with the city of Porto, for its capital, erected for him into a kingdom under the title of Northern Lusitania. Alentejo and Algarve, were in like manner to be given to Godoy, in entire property and sovereignty, with the title of Prince of the Algarves; the other Portuguese provinces were to be held in sequestration till a general peace; at which time if they were restored to the house of Braganza, in exchange for Gibraltar and the colonies which England had conquered, both these shadowy monarchs were to hold their crowns and kingdoms by investiture from the king of Spain, as Lord Paramount of Portugal. Such was the bait with which Charles IV. was allured to his ruin.* The proposal was so shameless, so flagrant, so devoid even of the least semblance of political decency, that only the most sordid avarice, or the most hopeless fatuity, could have been seduced by it. Charles, however, fell into the snare, and thus put weapons into the hand of his deadliest enemy, soon to be employed against himself.

The consequences of this nefarious treaty were immediately visible. A numerous and well-appointed French army under Junot, a worthy general of such a monarch as Buonaparte, crossed rapidly through Spain and occupied Lisbon, hardly giving time to the Prince and the royal family, to seek an asylum on the shores of Brazil. This part of the history is narrated with real feeling and effect; although it does not

* The conduct of Buonaparte and the experience of Ferdinand are vividly described by Demosthenes: Οὐδείς γὰρ. . . τὸ τῆ προσιδόντος συμφέρον ζητῶν, χρήματ' ἀναλίσκει· ἢ δ' ἐπειδὴν, ὃν ἂν πρίηται, κύριος γένηται, τῷ προδοτῇ συμβεβῶν περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἔτι χρήται· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἦν ἂν εὐδαιμονέστερον προδότῃ· Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔστι ποθεν; πολλὰ γέ καὶ δεῖ· Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐγκρατὴς ὁ ζητῶν ἀρχεῖν καταστῇ, καὶ τῶν ταῦτα ἀποδομένων δεσπότης ἔσσι' τὴν δὲ πονηρίαν εἰδὼς, τότε δὴ, τότε καὶ μιτεῖ, καὶ ἀπιστεῖ, καὶ προσηλακίζει. Demost. περὶ Σεφάρου ἰδ'. The whole passage and context might have referred to the Emperor of France, and the King of Spain, instead of Eschines and Philip of Macedon.

rise to the lofty tone in which the greater movements in the eastern part of the Peninsula are described. The embarkation took place on the 27th of November 1807, from the very spot whence Vasco de Gama had embarked ; and from which Cabral had led that expedition which gave to Portugal an empire in the west, and prepared for her Prince the asylum he was now seeking.

Had the population of Lisbon been permitted to avail themselves of the offer of Sir Sidney Smith's assistance in defence of the city, Junot and his army would have found their graves beneath its ramparts. The inhabitants were unhappily delivered over to governors altogether unworthy of their trust : and when the intrusive general entered the city, he found his most obsequious adherents among those who should have been praying between the porch and the altar for a blessing on the cause of Portugal, while their countrymen were upholding it in the field. The following proclamation by the Cardinal Patriarch of Lisbon, is a melancholy record of subserviency and treachery.

" There now appeared a pastoral letter from the Cardinal Patriarch of Lisbon, written in obedience to the desire of Junot, and according to his suggestions. The Patriarch began by alluding to his age and infirmities ; these, he said prevented him from addressing his flock in person on the present occasion ; but he could still, as their father and pastor, speak to them in this manner, so that in the day of judgment the Lord might not charge him with neglect of this important duty. " Beloved children," (he continued,) " you know the situation in which we find ourselves ; but you are not ignorant how greatly the divine mercy favours us in the midst of so many tribulations. Blessed be the ways of the Most Highest ! But it is especially necessary, beloved children, that we should be faithful to the immutable decrees of his divine providence ; and first we should thank him for the good order and quietness with which the kingdom has received a great army coming to our succour, and giving us the best founded hopes of prosperity. This benefit we owe equally to the activity and prudence of the general in chief, whose virtues have long been known to us. Fear not then, beloved children ; live in security at home and abroad ; remember that this is the army of Napoleon the Great, whom God hath destined to support and defend religion, and to make the happiness of the people. You know him and the whole world knows him, confide implicitly in this wonderful man, whose like hath not been seen in any age ! He will shed upon us the blessings of peace, if you obey his determinations, and if ye love each other, natives and strangers, with brotherly charity. Religion, and the ministers of religion, will then be always respected, the clause of the spouses of the Lord will not be violated ; and the people, being worthy of such high protection, will be happy. Demean yourselves thus, my children, in obedience to the injunction of our Lord Jesus Christ. Live subject to

those who govern, not only for the respect which is due to them, but because conscience requires you so to do." In conclusion, he intreated all his clergy, by the bowels of Christ Jesus, to concur with him in impressing upon the people the duty of resignation and submission. The Inquisitor general repeated the same strain of adulation and servility: some of the prelates followed the example, and the clergy were ordered in circular letters to enforce these principles from the pulpit and the confessional. Whatever may have been the secret wishes of these men, however their language may have belied their hearts, certain it is that they now betrayed their country, and as far as in them lay contributed to its degradation and destruction." (Pp. 98, 99.)

Take the following picture of benefits conferred upon Portugal, and especially upon Lisbon, by the men who declared themselves to have entered within her borders for the express purpose of restoring the golden age of her glory and happiness: but who verified their promises, exactly as Rome fulfilled her assurances to our forefathers. "*Auferre, trucidare, rapere, falsis nominibus imperium, atque ubi solitudinem, faciunt pacem appellant.*" The whole speech of Galgacus irresistibly transports us from his side among the Grampians, to realize the picture drawn by his indignant patriotism in the conduct and character of the French armies in Portugal.

"The situation of Lisbon, at this time, is one to which history affords no parallel: it suffered neither war, nor pestilence, nor famine, yet these visitations could scarcely have produced a greater degree of misery; and the calamity did not admit of hope, for whither at this time could Portugal look for deliverance? As the government was now effectually converted into a military usurpation, it became easy to simplify its operations; and most of the persons formerly employed in civil departments were dismissed from office. Some were at once turned off; others had documents given them, entitling them to be reinstated upon vacancies; a few had some trifling pension promised. All who had depended for employment and subsistence upon foreign trade were now destitute. Whole families were thus suddenly reduced to poverty and actual want. Their trinkets went first; whatever was saleable followed: things offered for sale at such a time were sold at half their value, while the price of food was daily augmenting. It was a dismal thing to see the Mint beset with persons who carried thither the few articles of plate with which they had formerly set forth a comfortable board, and the ornaments which they had worn in happier days. It was a dismal thing to see men pale with anxiety pressing through crowds who were on the same miserable errand, and women weeping as they offered their little treasure to the scales. Persons who had lived in plenty and respectability were seen publicly asking alms—for thousands were at once reduced to the alternative of begging or stealing; and women, of unblemished virtue till this fatal season, walked the streets, offering themselves to prostitution, that the mother might obtain bread for her hungry children,—the daughter

for her starving parents. Such was the state to which one of the most flourishing cities in Europe was reduced ! As the general distress increased, tyranny became more rigorous, and rapine more impatient. Many of the convents could not pay the sum at which they had been assessed, their resources having suffered in the common calamity ; their rents were consequently sequestered, and the intrusive government began to take measures for selling off their lands to discharge the contribution. The rents of inhabited houses were sequestered, to answer for the assessment upon untenanted ones belonging to the same owner. At the beginning of April a prorogation of two months for the payment of the last third of the impost, was promised to those who should have paid the first by the end of the month : on the 28th, eight days grace was proclaimed for the payment of the first third : after which rigorous distress was to be levied upon the defaulters, not for the first payment alone, but for the whole contribution ; and this threat was enforced. Suicide, which had scarcely ever been heard of in Portugal, became now almost a daily act. There is no inhumanity like that of avarice. The Royal Hospital at Lisbon was one of the noblest institutions in the world : under the house of Braganza it was the admiration of all who knew how munificently it was supported, and how admirably conducted. Under the usurpation of the French more than a third part of the patients who died there perished for want of food." (Pp. 132—134.)

The mystery of that infamous proceeding, which is usually called "the affair of the Escorial" will probably never be revealed. Dr. Southey has necessarily left it in the darkness and obscurity which have been so industriously cast around it. It utterly mocks all sober speculation, when every allowance is made for fatuity and profligacy. There seems to be no ground of suspicion that it was instigated by Buonaparte. The king was doubtless precipitate in accusing his son of an attempt against his throne, and the life of his mother. On the other hand, the fact that Ferdinand so soon afterwards did dethrone his father, renders it difficult to acquit him of such an attempt at this moment. The plot, however, served to hasten the march of French troops into Spain ; and prepared Buonaparte to stand forward in his real character. These forces were expected according to the secret treaty of Fontainebleau ; and the most positive orders had been given that the French should be received every where and treated even more favourably than the Spanish troops. Thus were the gates of Pampeluna, St. Sebastian, Figueras, and Barcelona, thrown open to them. The citadels of these and other places were taken possession of by acts of the most shameless treachery.

Happy would it have been for the destinies of Spain, if her monarch could have imitated the high resolve of the Prince

of Portugal, by carrying the fortune of his house and nation across the Atlantic; as indeed was originally intended, when the French were on their march to Madrid. In an evil hour was this counsel abandoned: and the effect of the miserable vacillation was seen in the long train of treachery which inveigled the royal family to Bayonne, and placed them at the mercy of their enemy. All these strange events are related with singular energy, and their consummation is too characteristic of Buonaparte's policy to be omitted.

"Ferdinand proceeded, and crossed the stream which divided the two kingdoms. Scarcely had he set foot on the French territory, before he remarked, that no one came to receive him; a neglect more striking, as he had travelled so far to meet the Emperor. At St. Jean de Luz, however, the mayor made his appearance, attended by the municipality. Too humble to be informed of Buonaparte's designs, and probably too honest to suspect them, he came to the carriage and addressed Ferdinand, expressing, in the most lively manner, the joy he felt at having the honour of being the first person to receive a sovereign, the friend and ally of France. Shortly afterwards he was met by the *grande*s, who had been sent to compliment the Emperor: their account was sufficiently discouraging; but he was now near Bayonne, and it was too late to turn back. The Prince of Neufchatel (Berthier) and Duroc, the marshal of the palace, came out to meet him, and conduct him to the place which had been appointed for his residence,—a place so little suitable to such a guest, that he could not for a moment conceal from himself, that it marked an intentional disrespect. Before he had recovered from the ominous feeling which such a reception occasioned, Buonaparte, accompanied by some of his generals, paid him a visit. Ferdinand went down to the street door to receive him; and they embraced with every appearance of friendship. The interview was short, and merely complimentary; Buonaparte again embraced him at parting. The kiss of Judas Iscariot was not more treacherous than this imperial embrace. Ferdinand was not long suffered to remain uncertain of his fate. Buonaparte, as if to prove to the world the absolute callousness of his heart,—as if he derived an unnatural pleasure in acting the part of the deceiver,—invited him to dinner,—sent his carriage for him,—came to the coach steps to receive him,—again embraced him, and led him in by the hand. Ferdinand sate at the same table with him as a friend, a guest, and an ally; and no sooner had he returned to his own residence, than General Savary, the same man who, by persuasions and solemn protestations, had lured him on from Madrid, came to inform him of the Emperor's irrevocable determination, that the Bourbon dynasty should no longer reign in Spain; that it was to be succeeded by the Buonapartes; and therefore Ferdinand was required, in his own name, and that of all his family, to renounce the crown of Spain, and of the Indies in their favour." (Pp. 205, 206.)

But the hour of retribution was at hand.

“The seizure of the fortresses, and the advance of the French troops had roused the spirit of the Spaniards; their hopes had been excited to the highest pitch by the downfall of Godoy, and the elevation of Ferdinand; and in that state of public feeling the slaughter at Madrid, and the transaction at Bayonne were no sooner known, than the people, as if by an instantaneous impulse over the whole kingdom, manifested a determination to resist the insolent aggression. —Abandoned as they were by one part of the Royal Family, deprived of the rest; forsaken too by those nobles and statesmen, whose names carried authority, and on whose talent and patriotism they had hitherto relied;—betrayed by their government, and now exhorted to submission by all the constituted authorities, civil and religious, which they had been accustomed to revere and to obey;—their strong places and frontier passes in possession of the enemy; the flower of their own troops, some in Italy, others in the north of Europe; and a numerous army of the French, accustomed to victory, and now flushed with Spanish slaughter, in their capital and in the heart of the country: under these complicated disadvantages and dangers, they rose in general and simultaneous insurrection against the mightiest military power which had ever till that time existed; a force not more tremendous for its magnitude than for its perfect organization, wielded always with consummate skill, and directed with consummate wickedness. A spirit of patriotism burst forth which astonished Europe, and equalled the warmest hopes of those who were best acquainted with the Spanish nation: for those persons who knew the character of that noble people,—who were familiar with their past history, and their present state; who had heard the peasantry talk of their old heroes, of Hernan Cortes and of the Cid;—who had witnessed the passionate transfiguration which a Spaniard underwent when recurring from the remembrance of those times to his own;—his brave impatience, his generous sense of humiliation, and the feeling with which his soul seemed to shake off the yoke of these inglorious days, and take sanctuary among the tombs of his ancestors,—they knew that the spirit of Spain was still alive, and had looked on to this resurrection of the dry bones. As no foresight could have apprehended the kind of injury with which the nation had been outraged, nor have provided against the magnitude of the danger, so by no possible concert could so wide and unanimous a movement have been effected. The holiest and deepest feelings of the Spanish heart were roused, and the impulse was felt throughout the Peninsula like some convulsion of the earth or elements.” (Pp. 264, 265.)

At this period the deputies from Asturias arrived in England, producing an interest and emotion scarcely less intense than they had left behind them. That sad excesses should happen among a people at all times imagining revenge to be a virtue, and stung to madness by the extent and enormity of the injustice practised against them, is by no means wonderful. Many such dark pages stain this part of Spanish history; but the guilt must be partaken with those who had given such

provocation. The various provincial authorities, and the Junta of Seville were not wanting to their duty amidst the fervour of the popular mind. The French squadron at Cadiz was compelled to surrender, Palafox escaped from Bayonne to Zaragoza, and prepared for that career of devoted patriotism which has for ever united his name with the most noble in the annals of Spain. Meantime Buonaparte was busied in the heartless mockery of preparing a constitution for Spain with the notables whom he had inveigled into his power, seduced by his arts, or bought with his gold; until this scene of perfidy was closed by the entrance of the intrusive king into Spain, and his own return to Paris, triumphing in the successful accomplishment of his schemes, and reckless that—

—————Even-handed justice

Returns the poisoned chalice to our lips.

The chequered scenes with which this warfare began, are described with much animation. The invader was taught what he might expect in the prosecution of his unholy enterprize, by the shameful repulse of Moncey from the walls of Valencia. "He perhaps naturally undervalued a people, whom travellers had represented as relaxed by the effects of a delicious climate, by which, according to the proverbial reproach of their Castilian neighbours, all things were so debilitated, that in Valencia the meat was grass, the grass water, the men women, and the women nothing." Oppression, however, had wrought a wondrous transformation here and elsewhere; for while in some parts of Spain the disciplined valour of the French prevailed, in others, and especially in Andalusia, the popular feeling well directed, obliged Dupont and his army to surrender after the battle of Baylen.

If any circumstances can enable a lover of peace and good will to dwell upon long continued scenes of sanguinary warfare, they must be sought in the situation of Spain when she passed through this ordeal of her patriotism and constancy. Even with every sympathy produced by moral associations, and by the indignation that must arise within all hearts at the extent and enormity of the injury by which she was goaded into such desperate resistance, the mind oppressed with continued events of unrelieved woe and suffering and guilt, longs to turn away and dwell upon subjects of milder interest. There are, however, light and glowing points even within this dark and lowering horizon; and such was that most glorious event, the siege of Zaragoza. We well remember the impression produced upon us by the eloquent narrative of Mr. Vaughan, who obtained the particulars of his information upon the spot, a very short time after the deliverance of the city; and

was himself an eye witness of the immediate effects, if not of the progress, of the siege. To this narrative Dr. Southey is much indebted. Better materials no historian could desire, nor could they have been easily furnished in a form more adapted to his use. If it were permitted us to utter any regret at the manner in which the subject is treated, we should trace it to the minute and almost tedious descriptions of Zaragozaan superstition, and of the reputation of this city for miracles. By such lengthened disquisitions, this history of valour and devotedness is too much interrupted. This siege exhibits the most illustrious instance of the manner in which a truly wise and politic government would have endeavoured to defend the liberties of Spain—not by bringing raw levies into the field to contend against superior numbers, and superior discipline,—but by placing every man in his own house as in a fortress, and by giving him arms to keep it.

Don Joseph Palafox y Melzi, by whom the glorious resistance of Zaragoza was directed, had escaped from Bayonne in the disguise of a peasant. He had been from boyhood in the Spanish guards without ever having seen actual service. Hitherto nothing remarkable had appeared in his character : but there are men whose talents and genius lie hidden, even from themselves, until extraordinary circumstances call them forth. Such a man was Palafox. Well known in Arragon, and descended from one of its most illustrious families, he was immediately selected as the individual, to whose keeping the destiny of Zaragoza should be committed, and most worthily did he fulfil the trust. In a military point of view the city was wholly indefensible. “When the new Captain General declared war against the French, his troops only amounted to 220 men, and the public treasury could furnish him with no more than an hundred dollars. Sixteen ill mounted guns were all the artillery in the place, and the arsenal contained but few muskets. Fowling pieces were put in requisition, pikes were forged, and powder supplied from neighbouring mills, . . . for every thing else Palafox trusted to his country, and his cause.”

The first attack was made on the 14th of June. From this day to the 9th of August, when they retreated, baffled and crippled, did the French make a succession of assaults, which were resisted with a heroism of defence unknown to modern warfare, and with a spirit perhaps unparalleled since the siege of Saguntum. One feature of this deadly strife is too characteristic to be omitted.

“After a severe contest and dreadful carnage, the French forced their way into the Cozo, in the very centre of the city, and, before the

day closed, were in possession of one half of Zaragoza. Lefebvre now believed that he had effected his purpose, and required Palafox to surrender, in a note containing only these words: "Head-quarters, St. Engracia. Capitulation!" The heroic Spaniard immediately returned this reply: "Head-quarters, Zaragoza. War at the knife's point!" The contest which was now carried on is unexampled in history. One side of the Cozo, a street about as wide as Pall-mall, was possessed by the French; and, in the centre of it, their general, Verdier, gave his orders from the Franciscan convent. The opposite side was maintained by the Arragonese, who threw up batteries at the openings of the cross streets, within a few paces of those which the French erected against them. The intervening space was presently heaped with dead, either slain upon the spot, or thrown out from the windows. Next day the ammunition of the citizens began to fail;—the French were expected every moment to renew their efforts for completing the conquest, and even this circumstance occasioned no dismay, nor did any one think of capitulation. One cry was heard from the people, wherever Palafox rode among them, that, if powder failed, they were ready to attack the enemy with their knives,—formidable weapons in the hands of desperate men. Just before the day closed, Don Francisco Palafox, the general's brother, entered the city with a convoy of arms, and ammunition, and a reinforcement of three thousand men, composed of Spanish guards, Swiss, and volunteers of Arragon,—a succour as little expected by the Zaragozans, as it had been provided against by the enemy." Pp. 417, 418.)

Such valour could hardly fail of a successful issue, and it stands upon record, the mark of admiration and encouragement to every man who loves and would defend his country.

"The history of a battle, however skilfully narrated, is necessarily uninteresting to all except military men; but in the detail of a siege, when time has destroyed those considerations, which prejudice or pervert our natural sense of right and wrong, every reader sympathizes with the besieged, and nothing, even in fictitious narratives, excites so deep and animating an interest. There is not either in the annals of ancient or of modern times, a single event recorded more worthy to be held in admiration, now and for evermore, than the siege of Zaragoza. Will it be said that this devoted people obtained for themselves, by all this heroism, and all these sacrifices, nothing more than a short respite from their fate? Woe be to the slavish heart that conceives the thought, and shame to the base tongue that gives it utterance! They purchased for themselves an everlasting remembrance upon earth,—a place in the memory and love of all good men in all ages that are yet to come. They performed their duty; they redeemed their souls from the yoke; they left an example to their country, never to be forgotten, never to be out of mind, and sure to contribute to and hasten its deliverance." (P. 421.)

Perhaps this language is somewhat too warm and rhetorical for the use of sober history; but "we would not be of that man's fellowship" who cannot consent to adopt it, and who

finds not its apology in the feelings of his own mind, and the magnificence of the subject.

While these events were passing in Spain, Portugal also was convulsed by the political earthquake. The merciless exactions of Junot, the licentious conduct of his troops, the wantonness of insult with which every institution of the land was treated, every sanctuary dishonoured, and every charity of life outraged, did their united work in arousing the spirit of a desperate resistance within the minds of a people, perhaps naturally proud beyond any other in Europe. While this agitation was widely spreading through the land, that era arrived alike memorable in the history of Portugal and Britain, the landing of an English army, commanded by him, who amidst the distant scenes of Indian warfare, had cultivated those splendid military talents, which were soon to have a wider scope, and a reward more glorious, in the deliverance of prostrate Europe. The first blood was shed in the severe skirmish of Roliça; and with an unsparing liberality was it afterwards poured forth through the whole peninsular war. On the 21st August 1808; four days after the former action, was fought the battle of Vimeiro, in which the valour and resources of either army were tried under every circumstance of advantage on the side of the French, both as to numbers and situation. The trial issued in a result too memorable to be forgotten;—a result however which was repeated until battle and victory became words of convertible import in the mouth and hearing of an Englishman. The military phenomenon of an army whose commander was thrice changed in a few hours succeeded; and, through the vacillation at home, led to the mortifying convention of Cintra—a disgrace to the country which might have been easily prevented, if her cause had been left in the hands that had so well sustained it at Vimeiro.

These successes in Portugal were contemporary with others in Spain, which, if not equally decisive and glorious, were still upholding and extending the determined resistance of the Peninsular; and preparing the way slowly, but surely, for its liberation. A great accession was made to the actual and moral advantage of this noble cause, by the well planned and judicious escape of Romana from the Baltic. He was a man whose elevation of character, unquestionable talents, and almost romantic generosity of mind, rendered him worthy of all confidence while living; and Spain will long reckon him among the noblest of her martyrs in the cause of liberty.

Events like these had been but little familiar to the experience of Buonaparte: but he was soon to feel them with

increasing weight and bitterness. In the mean time new armies were levied on the frontier, troops from Prussia and Poland recalled, and every effort made to remove the possibility of successful resistance when the Emperor should in person direct and impel his legions.

"Soldiers," said he, "after having triumphed on the banks of the Danube and the Vistula, you have passed through Germany by forced marches. I shall now order you to march through France, without allowing you a moment's rest. Soldiers, I have occasion for you! The hideous presence of the leopard contaminates the continent of Spain and Portugal. Let your aspect terrify and drive him from thence! Let us carry our conquering eagles even to the pillars of Hercules: there also we have an injury to avenge!" The capture of the French squadron at Cadiz, had never been published in France, and this hint is the only notice that ever was publicly taken of it. "Soldiers," he pursued, "you have exceeded the fame of all modern warriors. You have placed yourselves upon a level with the Roman legions, who, in one campaign, were conquerors on the Rhine, on the Euphrates, in Illyria, and on the Tagus. A durable peace and permanent prosperity shall be the fruits of your exertions. A true Frenchman can never enjoy any rest till the sea is open and free. Soldiers, all that you have already achieved, and that which remains to be done, will be for the happiness of the French people, and for my glory, and shall be for ever imprinted on my heart." (P. 685.)

For some time every event appeared likely to verify the arrogant boast. The hasty and undisciplined troops of Spain were vanquished in every attempt to confront his forces. The dispersion of Blake's army at Reynosa, the battle of Tudela, and the forcing of the pass of Somoierra, again laid open the way to Madrid, from which Joseph had been compelled to flee. The capital was summoned by Buonaparte in person. Treachery within was added to force and fraud without; and the indignant populace, without leaders or helpers, deprived of all means of effectual resistance, were betrayed into the hands of their enemies by Morla, a man who had lived too long to live or die with honour. At this moment the destinies of Spain seemed to lie at the feet of her conqueror in almost hopeless prostration. She was permitted however to obtain a breathing time, while her oppressor turned aside from his path of victory in the south, to drive the English into the sea, and complete the work of their destruction. The army thus insolently devoted was that under the lamented Sir John Moore, a soldier whom the common voice of England pointed out as her most able commander—a man who well deserved his reputation, and who would have well upheld it, had he possessed more confidence himself, more acquaintance with the latent traits of Spanish

character, and more doubt of the consummate talent of the generals whom he was sent to oppose. We have neither time nor heart to follow his disastrous expedition through all the miseries of the retreat, from Salamanca to Corunna, before men whom he might have justly hoped to subdue. Nor can we dwell upon the retrieving event of that campaign, the victory of Corunna. One circumstance however is too honourable to the Spaniards to be omitted. The famished and naked troops of Romana had possession of the only road along which the British force could retreat, and upon which alone any provisions could be expected.

"A malignant fever was raging among them, and long fatigue, privations, and disease, made them appear more like an ambulatory hospital than an army. Under such circumstances it might have been supposed they would have sought to secure their retreat under protection of the British to Corunna and Ferrol. But Romana and his forlorn band were too high-minded to attach themselves as a burden upon those allies with whom they had so lately expected to co-operate in honourable and hopeful enterprise; and they assented without hesitation to the British General's desire. Romana only requested that the British troops might no longer be permitted to commit disorders, which even in an enemy's country ought never to be allowed. It must have been painful indeed for Sir John Moore to have heard of such excesses; and still more painful to feel, that in a retreat so hasty as this was intended to be, it was impossible to prevent them." (Pp. 784, 785.)

Thus ended the first campaign of the English in Spain, by the painful disappointment of many ardent hopes, and the raising a sense of shame throughout the land, which happily awakened its rulers to the necessity of a better policy, and thus prepared the way for a succession of triumphs hardly paralleled in the history of past achievement. Here too ends the first volume of Dr. Southey's labours, from which we have risen with feelings of admiration for the author, commensurate with the instruction and delight afforded by this portion of his work; and anxious for those which may exhibit the fortunes of Spain passing through their eclipse, and emerging into light and glory.

It detracts nothing from the praise of this magnanimous struggle that Spain has now sunk to a state of deep and mortifying humiliation. If the monarch, whom the Spanish people so profusely bled to defend and reinstate, had possessed a heart to feel, or a head to understand—if he had been gifted with the qualities of the meanest soldier or subject that died in his cause, he would have known no possibility of rest or comfort, until he had made the only and the best return by endeavouring to restore such subjects to their

proper rank among the nations of Europe. Still, it must not be imagined that they fought or died in vain. Their efforts have been repaid with the most foul ingratitude, their devotedness with torture and death. They have, however, sown the seeds of future glory to Spain, too probably to be refreshed not with the dews of heaven, but with the blood of the brave, and to grow up amidst the agitations and convulsions of an awful revolution. That the plant will be matured, and bear fruit to the happiness of the rising generation will be denied by none who can derive knowledge from experience, and who are persuaded, that the continuance of any country in the situation of Spain, after having done and suffered so much in the cause of liberty and patriotism, would be a solitary instance in the history of nations.

To no living author could this eventful history have been so well confided as to Dr. Southey. His enthusiasm in the cause of Spain, his local acquaintance with the country, his intimate knowledge of her history and poetry, his familiarity with every thing wild and wonderful in her legends, his own glowing mind and glowing style, his power of profound thought and philosophical combination, were advantages with which few other individuals might compete. He has justified the public opinion; and so far as in him lay removed the reproach to which the people of England have long been subjected, that of more easily finding men to fight, than to record their battles. There is a striking similarity between the animation of mind and the train of reflexion here, and in the History of Brazil. But the latter work, however hereafter to become valuable as describing the cunabula of a future mighty monarchy, was too long to be read without tediousness, because it was almost impossible that even the charm of Dr. Southey's pen should invest the manners of barbarous tribes, and the foul slaughters of their Christian invaders, with an interest equivalent to the large demands made upon the patience of readers. Not so the History of the Peninsular war. The events themselves are associated with our most animating recollections, and the poet of Spain in her Gothic age has cast around this history the glow and energy of thought which are so conspicuous in "Roderick." His extensive, profound, and varied information is unsparingly employed: and his powers of expression are of a character which, sometimes perhaps approaching too nearly to the limit of poetry, has notwithstanding always the advantage of not permitting the sympathy of the reader to flag through the dulness of the writer. In one particular we think Dr.

Southey's mode of historical composition might be improved. The moral reflections produced in his own mind by the events upon which he dwells, too frequently assume the character of disquisitions, rather than of natural deductions from the history. The narrative is painfully suspended, often in those parts where it produces a restless anxiety to arrive at the conclusion. An artificial and elaborate air is thus given to the work, which a little care might easily have avoided.

One more objection has occurred to our minds in reading this truly admirable volume. The criticism may be deemed fastidious; and Dr. Southey will perhaps be disposed to attribute it to a sickly and morbid sensibility, little creditable either to our piety or taste. Against such a judgment, if it be made, our appeal is to all who are unwilling that epithets usually regarded as uncommunicably sacred, should be applied to human struggles, heroism, and suffering. A few instances will exhibit the reasonableness or injustice of our objection. At page 54, the term "Political Redeemer" is applied to each of the leaders in the state:

"When through the British world were known
The names of Pitt and Fox alone."

"The Transfiguration of Spain" is spoken of with reference to her political metamorphosis. The term may be correct, but it is so invariably united with one of the most solemn events in the stupendous mystery of Redemption, that we can feel no pleasure in such a use of it as in our apprehension constitutes a sad desecration. At page 805, Sir John Moore is said to have wanted faith: and it is added, that "faith works miracles in war, as well as in religion." Confidence in his own resources, in the valour of his troops, the goodness of his cause, and the divine blessing upon his efforts, are qualities most desirable, if not most necessary, in a general for carrying on successful warfare. But that high and hallowed principle, of which scripture speaks, as purifying the heart, overcoming the world, and working by love, is a grace of character, a sacred and influential feeling of the heart, conversant only with spiritual and eternal realities, and therefore deeply injured by association with emotions merely earthly, and with objects of perishing although of present importance. This fault is still more striking in "Roderick." Such liberties however are less excusable in history, than in poetry; and neither Dr. Southey's subject nor his mind are so deficient in animation, as to need their introduction.

Dr. Southey's writings embrace a wide field of varied lite-

rature; and his pretensions in the walks of knowledge almost equal those of the father of arts;

Βραχεῖ δὲ μύθῳ πάντα συλλήβδην μάθε
Πᾶσαι τέχναι βροτοῖσιν ἐκ Προμηθέως·

• In some of these pursuits we think he has failed, especially in the Book of the Church. Such labours as the present are more suited to his past studies and habitudes; and here he is at home. Here he claims our admiration and gratitude. Very freely and cordially are they paid him; and very earnestly do we hope he may be permitted to finish his work, to rejoice in its success, and to see it hailed with that present admiration which may be the pledge of its descent to posterity, as the most copious and eloquent history of the most triumphant period in the annals of British valour, generosity, and devotedness.

ART. XIV.—*Discourses on Prophecy*, in which are considered its structure, use, and inspiration, being the substance of twelve sermons, preached in the chapel of Lincolns Inn, in the lecture, founded by the Right Reverend William Warburton, Bishop of Gloucester. By John Davison, B. D. London. Murray. 1824. Svo. Pp. viii. and 672.

PROPHECY is a subject, peculiarly attractive to the human mind. The mere disposition to pry into futurity is gratified by it; though it must be obvious, that the prophecies of scripture were never designed to indulge that propensity, and are so constructed as for the most part to require the commentary of the event to explain the manner in which they are to be accomplished. Nevertheless, when that fulfilment has taken place, they are generally found to be marked by such definite characters, that the correspondence between the event and the prediction is no longer ambiguous or equivocal, but determined by the most appropriating indications, as a key is known to fit the lock by its ready adaptation to every ward. The predictions, moreover, of events that are yet future, are not without their present use, though the advantage of them to intervening generations is of a different kind from that which they confer on those who shall live after their fulfilment. Hence the structure, the use, and the gradual accomplishment of prophecy open interesting and important subjects of investigation in all

ages, and deserve the application of the best talents and the most exalted piety to the consideration of them.

The author of the work before us has confined his chief attention to the *structure* of prophecy: and the public are indebted to him for the sobriety of judgment, which led him to fix on that less inviting part of the general subject for elucidation, instead of being drawn away like many others, to bold and conjectural interpretations of unfulfilled predictions; which at all events it must be premature to examine, before those canons of construction have been deduced from an accurate examination of the whole prophetic volume, which may furnish correct data for coming to a just conclusion.

The structure of prophecy is confessedly formed upon a system of progressive and gradual discovery. The following is a summary sketch of it, according to the views of Mr. Davison.

The grand and principal subject of prophecy being the redemption of the human race from the curse and consequence of the first transgression, its date is therefore all but coeval with the fall. Yet the prediction granted to our first parents, was obscure and partial, sufficient to sustain their hopes and encourage their obedience, but not proceeding beyond the simplest disclosure of the great victory, which was finally to be accomplished over the power of evil. Other prophecies may possibly have been vouchsafed to the antediluvian world, which have not been preserved to us. Of one, we have a fragment in St. Jude, who does not scruple to call Enoch a prophet, and who has quoted for us those remarkable words, in which he foretold the ultimate triumph of godliness in the judgment of the great day. This prophecy rendered the intimation which had been given to Adam, somewhat more full and distinct, by shewing, that the conqueror of the serpent should also punish the ungodly, and be surrounded with ten thousands of his saints. The next prophecy, to which the scriptures introduce us, is that on the birth of Noah, which obscurely announced the coming flood, and, if the interpretation of Sherlock be admitted, the improved condition of the earth, which should follow it. After that signal monument of divine vengeance the consoling voice of prophecy was again heard, guaranteeing the world against any further deluge. The confinement of the promised deliverer to the line of Shem is the next addition to the promise of original revelation; which was afterwards limited to the descendants successively of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Judah, David and Solomon.

To Abraham, in the meanwhile, other promises are made

of a temporal nature. He, in the persons of his numerous posterity, was destined to be the inheritor of the land of Canaan at a time when he had as yet no son, and this promise is rendered still more remarkable by the opposite prediction, with which the grant of it was accompanied.—“Know of a surety, that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs, and shall serve them, and they shall afflict them four hundred years!” That long delay however was not uncheered by a ray of prophetic promise; for Jacob upon his dying bed was enabled even in Egypt itself, besides the spiritual privilege of Judah, to assign to each of his twelve sons the separate portions in the expected land, which should be made over to their respective families; and when at length the period arrived for putting them in actual possession of their inheritance, it was signalized not more by the astonishing miracles, which appalled the people of Egypt, than by the promulgation of that memorable law, which from this time became the peculiar distinction of the favored people.

On the character and objects of this law Mr. Davison enlarges with much force. Its sanctions were temporal. Its ceremonies on the other hand were spiritual. But their spiritual interpretation, as Mr. Davison contends, was latent, and very indistinctly apprehended, if at all, by the people to whom it belonged; while even the knowledge of a future state was to them very partially and imperfectly revealed, if indeed it can be said to have been any thing more than an object of natural hope, unsupported by any thing which gave it the character of an article of faith. On this head, though agreeing in many particulars, we yet differ, as will be seen, in some respects from the author.

We agree with Mr. Davison, that the doctrine of a future state is no part of the sanctions of the law of Moses. We agree also, that the want of that sanction does not in any degree invalidate the obligation of the law, because

“the obligation of man to obedience under the divine law, does not rest upon any specific pledge, or institution, of reward, or punishment at all. It rests upon this, the knowledge of the divine will imposed; consequent to which is the duty of obedience. The relation of man to God, as his Creator and Sovereign Lord, is the immediate reason and principle of duty; and the perception of this relation is the evidence of the duty.” (P. 171.)

At the same time, the law was, as Mr. Davison admits, in its ceremony and ritual, a shadow of good things to come, though we further agree with him,

“that the sense of the types was a latent one.” (P. 186.)

Nevertheless, though latent, we are persuaded that it was

not undiscoverable, and that by many of the devout Israelites, through the illumination of the Spirit of God, it was discovered, not indeed in its breadth and fulness, not in that explicit shape and distinctness which the coming of our Lord has rendered attainable to believers, but in sufficient evidence to make them anticipate the future Redeemer as the completion of all legal shadows.

Can it, notwithstanding the gratuitous concession of some divines, can it be reasonably doubted, that, when Job protested, "I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth; and though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God," he looked forward by faith to that long foretold Saviour, who was to reverse the sentence of the fall? But even at an earlier period than this, without dwelling on novel interpretations or uncertain hypotheses, we may see many indications of the confident anticipation of a promised deliverer, who was to appear after death, and prove a restorer, in some mysterious sense, to themselves. What else could Jacob mean, when upon his deathbed he interrupted the blessings addressed to his twelve sons, to exclaim, "I have waited for thy salvation, O Lord?"

With respect indeed to the construction, which was actually put by good and pious Israelites upon the ceremonies of the Mosaical law, which is the particular point in dispute, we have no means of judging what it was till the time of the prophets, the historical information up to that period being scanty, and scarcely any record of individual sentiment preserved. But the very first writer who opens his mind upon the subject, satisfies us completely. The law appears to have been to David not only a rule, but a study: "Oh, how I love thy law!" says he, "it is my meditation all the day." And the result of his meditation was this: "Thou desirest no sacrifice, else would I give it thee. But thou delightest not in burnt offerings. The sacrifice of God is a troubled spirit: a broken and contrite heart, O God, shalt thou not despise." Nor are the Psalms wanting in that reference to an expected deliverer, to whom the law points, and on whom the hope of Israel rested, which we have seen entertained by the earlier patriarchs. This we presume to be the import of that prayer in the eightieth psalm, to cite one out of many examples, "Let thy hand be upon the man of thy right hand, and upon the son of man whom thou madest so strong for thine own self! and so will not we go back from thee. Oh, let us live! and we shall call upon thy name." The succeeding prophets (it is admitted) are gradually more and more explicit, bearing out

Mr. Davison's idea of a progressive revelation. But we are now only concerned with the deductions, which the Israelites were able to frame from the provisions of their own law, not with the new discoveries made by the spirit of prophecy; and in this view the commentaries of the ancient targumists and rabbinites have their value, many of which show a penetration into the latent sense both of the scriptures and of the legal purifications, which, instead of being less, is certainly more and deeper than a Christian theorist would have ventured in imagination to ascribe to them.

But though we attribute to the ancient fathers a nearer acquaintance with the scheme of the gospel than the author of the discourses before us is willing to allow, we still (it will be perceived) consider it as a growing, and consequently an imperfect knowledge. The age of the prophets, which began with Samuel and ended with Malachi, added yearly, as it were, to its clearness, though at the brightest it was but as the dawn before the day. Mr. Davison appears to us to have correctly stated the distinct provinces of the Mosaical law and of the Mosaical ritual in informing the mind of a devout Israelite, in the short passage we are about to produce. If he had added to these sources of knowledge the promise, given to the patriarchs, and finally settled, as it were, upon Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, he would have fully come up to our idea.

"By 'the law is the knowledge of sin.' The law revealed, gave a peremptory and condemning knowledge of the transgression of it; and by this effect it created more terrors than the Ceremonial could relieve. For to the greater transgressions of the moral Code, the Ceremonial offered no visible relief whatever; it stood aloof from them; and this open chasm in its provisions, duly considered, might conspire with the sense of its general insufficiency, to set men upon some wish, or secret inquiry, after another more efficacious mode of atonement, than was to be had by the ordinances of the Levitical worship: or, if it could not prompt the idea of such an unseen atonement, might yet dispose to the acceptance of it." (Pp. 195, 196.)

We are much indebted to our author for some very able and masterly strictures on those commentaries of Professor Michaelis on the laws of Moses, which the reader will find reviewed, not without some expression of indignation, in the nineteenth volume of our journal, pp. 314—326. We cannot refrain from transcribing a considerable part of the merited rebuke, which the German professor has received from the learned author of the discourses on prophecy.

"A distinguished Commentator on the Laws of Moses, Michaelis, vindicates their temporal sanctions on the ground of the Mosaic code being of the nature of a civil system, to "the statutes" of which the rewards of a future eternal state would be incongruous and unsuitable.

But this solution of the matter is inadmissible, inasmuch as the Law comprehends both a *moral* and a *civil* code, and prescribes to the *private* as well as the *public* duty. It was a Law of Religion, as well of Government. The perfect love of God, which is one commandment of Moses; the Tenth commandment of the decalogue, and many others, never can be reduced to "statutes of the land," to be administered and enforced on the rules of a civil government. It is only surprising that a person of so great learning and research should propose the solution, or entertain the hypothesis on which it is founded; which yet he does with great deliberation. But the divine Law has its true and proper vindication, on far other grounds than such a limited and incorrect view of its use.—*J. D. Michaelis, Mosaic Law* ART. xiv.

"The same commentator rests the defence of the occupation of Canaan, made by the Israelites, upon an hereditary title derived to them from their ancestors, a Nomadic tribe of Palestine. He thinks, they had relinquished for a time the possession of that country, without surrendering or forfeiting their right to it; whilst the occupants, who were afterwards dispossessed, had not acquired in the interim, which was more than two hundred years, a perfect title by their more recent settlement. This claim of human right is to soften the supposed violence of the entry of the Israelites into the Promised Land: the supernatural grant, the declared gift of God, joined with his judicial expulsion or excision of the inhabitants, (which is the Mosaic account of the proceeding), not appearing to the author to be a *sufficient* justification of what was done.—*Comment*, Art. xxxi. Smith's Translation, [Or see *Syntagem Commentat.* tom. ii. p. 210.]

"Such expositions can scarcely be deemed Commentaries, when the comment has so little of consistency with the text; and I have cited this second instance of the vitiated latitudinarian Theology of this author, on a point connected with the Mosaic dispensation, to make it appear the more probable that he has gone upon some wrong principle in the whole judgment he has formed of that dispensation. A *mere civil law*, in the one case, and a *human right*, in the other, agree sufficiently well together; but how do they agree with the genuine character of God's revelation, or the majesty of his gift? The *gratuitous donation* of Canaan is one of the essentials of the promise of it; and so it is perpetually represented to be; a free gift, and nothing else; gratuitous as to the right, though not as to the condition; and both the letter and spirit of the Mosaic history concur in establishing the divine donation of Canaan, and excluding the claim of right.

"But what if a common human right could be proved? Though it might seem to conciliate the unbeliever, it will scarcely be satisfactory to the Christian, inasmuch as it would impair or confound in one chief point the harmony of the divine dispensations; which have made the grant of Canaan under the Law, and the promise of eternal life under the Gospel, equally a favour and a gift. The Temporal promise, in this quality of it, is of a kind with the Evangelical; and all this is made so plain in the text of Holy Writ, that it requires some learning to miss it.

"The extent of *right* which the Israelites really had in Canaan was in a place of sepulture, the purchased burial place of the Patriarchs. To this Jacob was carried from Egypt; it was an asylum of their faith in God's promise, and shewed their hope, but not their claim, to the rest of Canaan: which indeed there is no proof that their ancestors occupied *except in part*.

"But I fear the author's general ideas of the foundation of this supposed right are as untenable as his theology. For, besides what may be justly urged against it on the common principle of all law, whether Civil, or that of Nations, *viz.* that the *free discontinuance* of possession, in course of time, *impairs* the dominion, and at last *forfeits* it; leaving the *derelict property* to any new occupant, unless the exposed right be guarded in a far stricter manner than the Israelites in Egypt could guard their territory in Canaan; besides this, I say that the territorial right of a Nomadic tribe is of all others the most fugitive and evanescent, inasmuch as it imprints upon the earth, the subject of it, few or none of the improvements or modifications of human labour. No labours of the plough, none of planting, none of the operose building of houses or cities, attach to the pure pastoral state; and few of these could have taken place among the ancient Nomads of Palestine. But if a migratory tribe of herdsmen could acquire a lasting property on every spot where their tents have been pitched, or their herds have grazed, they might take much of the earth to themselves in a short time, against the plainest intentions of God, and the common justice of the world. The digging of wells is perhaps the greatest effort of the Nomadic life to an appropriation of the soil. Otherwise their right, without continued occupancy, is as perishable as the herbage which they consume. But how justly does Moses express to the Israelites their total want of pretension of right on these very accounts. 'And it shall be when the Lord thy God shall have brought thee into the land which he sware unto thy fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, to give thee, *great and goodly cities which thou buildest not, and houses full of all good things which thou filledst not, and wells digged which thou diggedst not, vineyards and olive trees, which thou plantedst not*, when thou shalt have eaten and be full; Then beware lest thou forget the Lord thy God.' (Pp. 213—215.)

But it is time, that we should pass onward to what is justly regarded by our author, as the proper age of the prophets, the period from Samuel to Malachi. During all this period, which is, as it were, a sort of galaxy in the prophetic vision, Mr. Davison argues, that the subjects of prophecy were as progressive as the frequency of its revelations.

"The simple restricted Jewish subject comes first, as in the predictions of Samuel. The Jewish and Christian are next combined, as in the prophecies of David and Isaiah. Afterwards the Christian and Pagan are clearly and formally connected in the prophecies of Daniel. Whilst all these subjects, either apart or in union, are filled up from time to time, with various accessions of prediction extending on every side the range of the revelation.

"But in this train and series of prophetic disclosure one subject there is pre-eminent above the rest, the Christian. It is, of all others, the most frequently introduced, and the most copiously enlarged upon. It furnishes the proper topic of many great and perspicuous predictions; in others a transition is made to it, as though it were constantly in view. For to 'Christ give all the Prophets witness.'" (Pp. 239, 240.)

The fidelity of this sketch is indisputable. For the external fortunes of the kingdom of Israel are the first and leading subject of this new era of prophecy, the perpetuity of the throne of David, the peaceable reign of Solomon, the separation of the ten tribes from his successor, the captivity of both kingdoms, the restoration of Judah, its subsequent rejection, and the final recovery and union of both kingdoms, together with the influence of these varied dispensations on many surrounding kingdoms, as Nineveh, Babylon, Tyre, Egypt, Moab, and others. But with these is ever mixed up, as a subject, to which they are subordinate and subservient, the spiritual kingdom of our Lord, and the eventual universality of his dominion.

Moreover this last and most important topic is introduced with increasing prominence, as the course of prophecy advances: It is interrupted, indeed, by predictions of a strictly temporal character, in which scarcely any notice of christianity occurs. But yet, as the chief figure in the group, it comes forth with occasional intermission, in clearer light, till the last of the prophets imparts even to the shadow itself something of the depth and fulness of reality.

The very fact also of this main object of prophecy growing out of the predictions, which relate to the temporal concerns of the Jewish people, is a circumstance in its structure not to be passed over. Those fugitive interests would from their proximity appear to the people, to whom the prophets spoke, as important as greater events at a distance, just as the hill immediately before us, subtends an equal angle from our eye with the mountain, which lies beyond it. The prophets, therefore, were generally directed to arrest the attention of their hearers by presenting to them the nearer object first, from the span of which they were afterwards led, and enabled to measure the height and magnitude of the more remote, while the very intermixture of the two subjects gives a character of reality and truth to the prophecy, which precludes the suspicion of imposture. An anxiety, therefore, to interpret every prophecy in a Christian sense, and to ascribe to it a spiritual meaning, might lead us to disregard one of its characteristic features, and unwittingly to cast dishonour upon a system, which we design to magnify and exalt.

Another mark, by which the prophecies of the Old Testament are distinguished, is the indignant tone of offended morality and pastoral remonstrance, with which they are blended.

"Read the oracles of Paganism; consult the most revered of the ancient temples and shrines of divination. Where are the pure morals? where the theology? where the incessant and systematic reference, in those oracles, to the cause of positive virtue and practical religion? Where, indeed, any great and unequivocal concern in such matters?" (P. 87.)

"It was wisely ordered, (says our author,) that the gift of prediction, and the teaching of material truth, should go together as they did in the ancient prophets. It took from them the suspicion of being mere instruments to gratify the passion of natural curiosity, in the discoveries of the future which they professed to make." (P. 88.)

The morality and the predictions of the Bible are thus shewn to come from the same author; who has also attested them both by miracles.

But further, the decline of the Jewish kingdom, and the failure of the conditional promises regarding both the people and the temple, or rather the revocation of the promises on the violation of the condition, is alleged, as one leading subject in all the predictions of the Old Testament.

"There was *no one* considerable Ordinance, or Appointment of God, under the first dispensation, which was permitted to pass away, or be withdrawn, silently, or by stealth; but the most definite and expressive prophecies always preceded the abolition or suspension of the ordinance in question. The chief of those ordinances may be thus enumerated: The gift of Canaan; the Mosaic covenant; the Mosaic worship; the Hebrew people itself, as the peculiar of God; the temporal kingdom of David; the Temple. Every one of these ordinances and appointments passed away; but the intelligent reader of prophecy will know that none of them was either abolished, or suspended, without the distinct information of prophecy previously given." (Pp. 300, 301.)

Of these several revelations, Mr. Davison produces a succession of evidence; and his observations upon what he pronounces to be the termination of the temporal reign of the house of David, are so striking and original, that notwithstanding their length, we must not withhold them from our readers.

"As this favoured Kingdom rose upon the word of prophecy, its dissolution was marked in the same way. Jeremiah had one special mission to the house of the king of Judah. 'Thus saith the Lord, Go down to the *house of the king* of Judah, and speak there this word: and say, Hear the word of the Lord, O king of Judah, that sittest upon the *throne of David*.' The burden of the prediction is the memorable text which follows, 'O earth, earth, earth, hear the word

of the Lord. Thus saith the Lord, *Write ye this man childless, a man that shall not prosper in his days: for no man of his seed shall prosper, sitting upon the throne of David, and ruling any more in Judah.*

"The deep pathetic force of this chapter of prophecy is well known; but it must be read in another view, as God's solemn revocation of the title to the earthly kingdom. It is his interdict laid upon the house of David; the withering of that sceptre which he had blessed. Why that invocation, 'O earth, earth earth! hear the word of the Lord;' but to attest the departure of the favour and prerogative of his promise? Nothing but his former word sealing the promise could have created the appeal, or given the earth an ear to listen to that invocation. But what is there for the world to listen to, if it be not these promulgations wherein God explains his righteous government over the kings and families of the earth, and proclaims the repeal of his most distinguished favour, when the transgression of man has wrought the defeasance of it?

"From the time when prophecy passed this sentence of deprivation upon the person of Coniah (or Jeconias,) there is an end of the power and lustre of the house of David; for as to the precarious and tumultuary reign of Zedekiah, who was set up for a few years by the king of Babylon, before the captivity, or the transient delegated authority of Zerubbabel, after it, they make no exception of any moment to the perfect execution of that sentence. The people were restored, but not the kingdom. It fell, it lay prostrate, till Christ came and repaired its ruins on a new foundation, in his greater kingdom.

"The reign and success of the Maccabees, which intervened before the coming of Christ, make a bright epoch in the later history. But herein the removal of David's temporal throne was shewn the more, when the favour and glory of that prosperous time were given neither to his family, nor even to a family of the tribe of Judah. The reign of the Maccabees, and that of Herod, equally attest the continued cessation of the temporal promise in the house of David. But the long loss of God's favour was a preparative to make the restoration of it the more distinguished, when at last it appeared in the person of Christ. And perhaps we have ground to think that the intermediate deliverers were providentially chosen from the family of Aaron, for this reason among others; to exclude the idea that in that momentary tide of success, the great promises of God given to Israel through the house of David, and in the tribe of Judah, were beginning to be revived. For the Maccabees, liberators of their country, and restorers of its public religion and worship, might have seemed to realize some of the chief prophetic hopes, had they been of the lineage to which those hopes were annexed; and there were no living inspired prophets to correct the mistake. But their family and tribe left the sense of the prophecies entire, and made it clear that the time was yet to come when God would visit 'the throne and kingdom of David, to order it and establish it with judgment and with justice for ever.'" (Pp. 282—286.)

This argument is very ingenious. But it seems difficult to reconcile with it a subsequent declaration, made by Jere-

miah in the reign of Zedekiah, and which almost seems as if it was designed to guard against the very interpretation, urged by Mr. Davison. Thus saith the Lord. "If ye can break my covenant of the day and my covenant of the night, and that there should not be day and night in their season, then may also my covenant be broken with David, my servant, that he should not have a son to reign upon his throne." Jer. xxxiii. 20, 21. It was due from Mr. Davison to furnish a solution of this difficulty. For our own parts with the broad facts of the state of the Jewish nation, and of the family of David under the Maccabees and Herod, before our eyes, and without entering into the genealogy of Zerubbabel, we are still inclined to hold with the author, that the temporal reign of the family of David was terminated by the Babylonish captivity, and must therefore interpret the declaration, just quoted from Jeremiah, of the spiritual kingdom, the promise of which was immutable, being confirmed by the oath of God, even when the conditional promise of a succession of temporal princes was abrogated by their neglect of the condition. These two concurrent predictions are recited together in the hundred and thirty second Psalm; and the very distinction, to which we have adverted above, is introduced into the statement of them. The spiritual promise, accompanied with an oath, comes first—"The Lord hath sworn in truth unto David. He will not turn from it. Of the fruit of thy body will I set upon thy throne." The temporal promise, limited by a condition, follows. "If thy children will keep my covenant, and my testimony, that I shall teach them, their children also shall sit upon thy throne for evermore." When this latter promise was recalled, it was natural for believing Jews to doubt whether the former would not perish with it: and therefore for their sake the solemn and cheering declaration of its immutability by Jeremiah was most seasonable.

But the moral use which is made of this remarkable selection of topics for prophecy, in the age now under consideration, deserves particular notice. The prediction of the overthrow of every divine appointment, before it began to decline, was not the subject which a false prophet would be likely to choose; and, while the confirmation of that prediction by the event proved its divine original, the time chosen for delivering it will at once account both for the incredulity, with which it was too often received at first, and for the veneration, with which it came to be regarded afterwards. Our author states this argument as follows:

"When we consider the austerity of rebuke addressed by these

men to the people of Israel and Judah, and the unfavourable light in which their national character is represented by them, almost without an exception, there is no room to think that public vanity, or public credulity, meant to preserve in such writings as theirs an advantageous history to recommend either people in the eyes of the world, or that they could gain by having it believed, or by believing themselves, that they had had prophets among them. But the words of the prophets are said to have been 'graven on a rock, and written with iron.' Had they not been so written and engraved, by an irresistible evidence of their inspiration, how could they have withstood the odium and adverse prejudice which they provoked? how could they have survived with the unqualified and public acknowledgment of their inspiration from the Jewish people, who hereby are witnesses in their own shame; and survive too with that admitted character, when every thing else of any high antiquity has been permitted to perish, or remains only as a comment confessing the inspiration of these prophetic writings? And the stress of the argument lies in this; that these writings were not merely preserved, but adopted into the monuments of their Church and nation; strange archives of libel to be so exalted, if their authority could have been resisted. But the Jews slew their prophets, and then built their sepulchres, and confessed their mission. There is but one reason to be given why they did so, a constrained and extorted conviction. But such was the promise given 'in hand to the Prophet. 'I do send thee unto them, and thou shalt say unto them, Thus saith the Lord God. And they, whether they will hear, or whether they will forbear, for they are a most rebellious house, *yet shall know* that there hath been a prophet among them.' Ezek. ii. 5. Or more explicitly: And '*when this cometh* to pass, lo it will come, then shall *they know* that a prophet hath been among them.' Ezek. xxxiii. 3. Here we have the explanation of the fact. The actual fulfilment seen of what their prophets had foretold, convinced that most unbelieving people; a people to whom their Pagan judges, looking at them and their religion from a distance, and with the fallacy of their own superstitions at home before their eyes, gave a name for credulity; but whom their own interior history shews to have been governed by a very opposite genius, in a slowness and reluctance of belief, which stood out against the authority of their real prophets, (as against the other divine guidance they had,) till a feeling experience brought them to reason. This 'credulous' people '*mocked* the messengers of God, and *despised* his words, and *misused* his Prophets; *till* the wrath of the Lord rose against his people, and there was no remedy.' 2 Chro. xxxvi. 16.

"But Pagan and Jewish belief held a different course, and the difference is instructive. The Pagan first believed what his prophets and oracles told him, and afterwards rejected; the Jews rejected, and afterwards believed. There is every reason to think that the result in each case was equally just; conformable to the deserts of the subjects examined." (Pp. 68—71.)

We are thus led by the course of our review, in the second

place, to consider the use of prophecy, as a part of the sacred volume, That use is twofold, and cannot be more happily expressed, than in the words of Mr. Davison.

“The prediction of prophecy, verified in its fulfilment, attests the divine foreknowledge, and the communication of that fore-knowledge. But prophecy combines therewith the illustration of another divine attribute. It represents the future event, which it brings to view, as a part of that system of things in which the Creator is present by the direction of his power, and the counsels of his wisdom, appointing the issues of futurity as well as foreseeing them; acting with ‘his mighty hand and outstretched arm,’ seen or unseen; ruling in the kingdoms of men, ordering all things both in heaven and earth.” (P. 76.)

On the former of these two uses, Mr. Davison writes with great power and effect. He is of course led in pursuing it, into some discussion of that perplexing question, the compatibility of the divine prescience with the freedom of human action. But he treats it with equal sobriety and skill. He does not pretend to solve the difficulties, which have been started in the many unprofitable disquisitions upon this intricate problem. But he contends very wisely, that the fore-knowledge of God and the liberty of men are both revealed, and both continually in exercise, and that we have no reason to conclude, that they interfere, although it may not be within the compass of our faculties to reconcile them. The great difficulty is in finding such a solution as shall at once vindicate the freedom of human action, and save the honour of God from being sullied by the origination of evil. The soundest writers have admitted this to be beyond the reach of our limited understandings. But Mr. Davison has in the following sentences assigned the reason, why it is beyond it: and this he finds in our not having any conception of the sources, of the divine knowledge, or of the media, if there be any, through which it is acquired.

“One great difference there is, which we must admit between God’s knowledge and man’s; that is a difference in their *origin*. Our stock of knowledge is raised upon the information of sense, a few axiomatic truths, inference, and testimony. Of the origin of God’s knowledge we know nothing, except that it cannot be in our way, nor by these media. Perhaps it may not be a correct way of speaking, to say that it *originates* at all. This is a mystery inscrutable to us.” (P. 668.)

“To foreknow, to any extent, the events of physical nature, which follow from the arranged constitution and laws of that nature; or to foreknow the actions of men, if those actions are the result either of a system of external causes, or of innate principles exercising a constant and inevitable influence; this, in a manner, is only according to the scope of human knowledge and science; wherein the *primary data*

of knowledge include the *whole remote conclusions* of it. But the prescience of the mysterious and voluntary actions of free agents is of another order. It accords with the prerogative of God. It is 'to understand the thoughts long before.' If there be freedom in those thoughts, the foreknowledge of them is worthy of the Omniscient mind." (P. 490.)

The foreknowledge of God being thus asserted in its infinite and therefore divine extent, it remains to shew, how any actions, foreknown by him in all their circumstances, can be said not to have originated from him in such a sense as not to make him chargeable with the evil that is involved in them. In our forty-fifth volume, Pp. 237, 238, we have shewn, that no less an authority than Dean Milner gives up the point; delivering plainly his opinion, that He who made and governs all things, cannot be said to permit what he did not cause, and therefore pronouncing God in distinct terms the good and benevolent cause of evil. We have therefore pleasure in producing the juster statement of the present author, upon a point which baffles explanation.

The paragraph which immediately follows that which we last quoted, is truly admirable.

"Perhaps the *omniscience* of God, in this one exercise of it, may be estimated, in some measure, by his *omnipotence*, though both exceeding our comprehension. But one act of his *power* we believe to have been in the *creation* of the world from nothing. May not his omniscience be apprehended as acting in like manner, in seeing "the things which are not as though they were?" The power which modifies the things that *exist*, is, *in its kind*, like the knowledge which surveys the things that *exist*. But the creative power is like the knowledge which *anticipates* the existence of things and their causes. If the first be a mystery, it is on that account the fitter to illustrate the other." (Pp. 490, 491.)

Between the power of God, indeed, and his knowledge, there is one essential difference. Both are infinite: but both are not always in action. He may forbear to exert his power, and does actually forbear to exert much of it every moment. Moreover, he may, if he will, delegate a portion of it to some creature, and refrain from exercising it himself during the continuance of that delegation. But his knowledge he never restrains; it is never suspended, never out of use, and incapable of being delegated to another. It may be communicated, but cannot be delegated. Hence it follows, that he may foreknow many things which he does not do. Indeed, to say that God decrees any thing that is sinful, is so far from being true in fact, that it is a contradiction in terms: for it is to say, that what God wills to be done, he at the same time wills not to be done.

The prophecies of scripture, however, (it has been shown) illustrate not only the foreknowledge of God, but his providence. His foreknowledge they demonstrate by the evidence of fact. His providence they display, exerting itself with a power magnified in proportion to the liberty of action, enjoyed by those over whom it is exerted. And when the volume of prophecy shall be completely unrolled by the silent lapse of time, and men shall look back upon the history of nations, and compare it with the anticipations of scripture, they will be constrained to admire the wisdom and power of that providence which has so ordained. This part of the subject, we think, Mr. Davison, though he has written upon it with much eloquence, has not exhibited with sufficient distinctness of illustration.

In any examination of the uses of prophecy, the gradual progress of fulfilment, through which it has passed, must not be overlooked: for this gradual accomplishment interests successive ages in its truth, and gives them to see in their own day some passing proof of the foreknowledge and providence of God. Many prophecies were doubtless fulfilled in remote ages, which have not bequeathed to us historical documents sufficient for comparing the event with the prediction: and in these instances our only satisfactory proof of the fulfilment of the prophecy is the preservation of the records, containing it, in the sacred canon: for would any people, who saw the prediction confronted with the event, and had abundant proof offered to their observation, that it had failed of accomplishment, still dare to continue so self-condemning an instrument among its pretended oracles, open to public inspection, and appealing, as the Bible does, to public confidence? If the prophecies respecting Tyre and Ammon, and the neighbouring territories, every passing occurrence in which was well known and deeply interesting to the Jewish people, but not better known, not more deeply interesting than the predictions concerning them, which are so minute and particular in the sacred volume,—if these prophecies had been unfulfilled, would not a death-blow have been given to the credit of the Bible, from which, it could never recover? and would it not have been impossible to preserve it in respect and authority to the present day? Again, we have reason to believe, that many prophecies have perished with the events which fulfilled them, particularly antediluvian prophecies, which as well as some others in the ages which immediately followed the flood, were probably of a character more temporary than those properly evangelical predictions, which came to be accumulated upon each other after the days

of Samuel : from which we are led to conclude, that every age has its peculiar light from the lamp of prophecy, the collected beams of which, so far as they are preserved, will be concentrated in full splendour in the glorious days of the church, and will throw a radiance upon the divine character, which will make it known to the sons of men in a degree in which it has never yet been revealed, even to the holy apostles and prophets by the Spirit.

It becomes us, therefore, to keep a steady eye upon the prophetic parts of the sacred volume, to beware of hasty interpretations and brilliant conjectures, and to remember, that the word of God is not to be lightly handled or made a theme of amusing disputation, but as a subject that regards the honour of God and the hopes of man. Mr. Davison, has, (we think,) rendered the public a service in the careful and deliberate calmness, with which he has brought the resources of an enlarged and independent mind, aided by the stores of sound knowledge and historical research, to these able and interesting discourses. There is no display of ingenuity or parade of learning in this volume, nor any laboured exactness of style, for which from some indications we conceive him to entertain a certain degree of contempt. But yet the clearness of his thoughts, and the strength of his conception force him sometimes into loftiness of diction, apparently without an effort. Neither is the work digested into a perfect system, which indeed does not appear to have been designed. In one respect we should regret, that the author has not pursued his avowed plan further by interpreting more of the prophecies in the New Testament, did we not see reason to doubt whether his construction of some passages in the Old, has not been built on too narrow a foundation. There are few things more wanting than a code of rules for determining upon settled principles, what prophecies or portions of prophecies in the Old Testament refer to the Christian Church, and what are confined to the Jewish. We are of opinion, that Mr. Davison has confined some to the outward and temporal affairs of Judæa, which would admit of a larger latitude. But on these questions there may be a legitimate difference of opinion. On the great subjects, which he has discussed, he has propounded much matter for christian reflection ; and we shall rejoice, if we can help to bring into fuller notice a work, which, (we are persuaded,) will appear to more advantage from repeated examination.

We cannot, however, conclude this article without advertising, so far as the discourses before us are to be considered a work upon the evidences of christianity, to the repugnance

with which many advanced Christians are observed to entertain the subject. The author has most happily delineated the state of their feelings upon it.

“To men already satisfied of the truth and the importance of the Gospel, few things are less acceptable than to be recalled from the career of their past conviction, to take up again the original proofs of their faith, and resume the principles of an inquiry which they have had happily answered in the effect of a well persuaded reason and a regulated life. To such persons the debate with Scepticism is a tedious and worn out speculation. Their life has outrun the question; they enjoy what we are asking them to believe.” (Pp. 23, 24.)

Yet to such persons for their own sake as well as for that of others, we would venture to recommend a little more patience in regard to a subject, which they seem to fancy they may safely leave at a growing distance behind them. Such an exclusive study of evidences, indeed, as would withdraw any one from the most devout cultivation of the substance, the heart and marrow, of christianity, we ourselves should think most unwise and preposterous. But the extreme importance of reverting from time to time to the foundations of the christian hope, with a view not only to answer the cavils of the gainsayer, but to meet the carnal suggestions of unbelief under circumstances of temptation, cannot (we think) be so forcibly shewn by any abstract reasoning, as it is by the following testimony of Richard Baxter in the review of his own religious opinions, made (it will be observed) at the close of a life, entirely devoted to the pursuit and propagation of religion. “Whereas in my younger days (says that eminent man) I was never tempted to doubt the truth of the scriptures, but all my fear was exercised at home about my own sincerity, and this was it, which I called unbelief,—since that time my worst assaults have been on the other side, and such they were, that, had I been void of inward experience, and had I not discerned more reason for my religion than I did before, I had certainly apostatized to infidelity.”

On the whole we heartily recommend the work before us to general attention.

ART. XV.—*The Life and Times of Salvator Rosa.* By Lady Morgan. London: Colburn. 1824. 2 Vols. 8vo. Pp. xxiv. 784.

THAT a moral direction should be given to the tastes and feelings of a great Christian nation, at that important period of its history, when its members are settling down, from the excitement of a protracted warfare, into the calmer cultivation of the arts of peace and the refinements of social life, will be felt to be in a high degree desirable. At such a season, those are real well-wishers to their country, who use their endeavour to enlist into the service of religion and morality every aid that may be derived from imitative talent or elegant literature. It is that interesting crisis, when a love of martial enterprize, and a display of the ruder energies of our nature, begin to yield to the milder domination of its better qualities; when the attention is rather engaged on those pursuits which distinguish the individual as a man, than to live on those which too nearly assimilate him to the brute; and when that portion of the population, which might not easily be brought to listen to instruction in its severer forms, betrays remarkable ductility in receiving its impressions from such as are gifted by providence with powers to minister to the pleasures of imagination, or to embellish society with the productions of art.

Every enlightened reader of the history of the fine arts must regret, that much speculation has been wasted, on the abstract question of the circumstances of time and place most favourable to their production, or on the comparative merits of different schools; while their moral influence has been too incidentally noticed, and their important bearings on the prevailing systems of religion and government too much overlooked. Poets and painters have been classed with sufficient precision. The biographies of artists have been multiplied to satiety. But they have been too exclusively exhibited in their professional character; and criticism has betrayed its selfishness, in neglecting to hold them forth in such points of view, as may interest those who are unacquainted with the laws of composition, or little susceptible of the refinements of taste. In every age in which their talents have been exercised, their responsibility has been great: they have been lecturers on virtue, or instigators to vice; abettors of ignorance, superstition, and tyranny, or promoters of knowledge, reformation, and liberty. It is fearful to reflect on the possible results of the eccentricity,

the prurieney, or the malice, of those who handle the lyre, the pencil, the graver, or the chisel; but few anticipations are more delightful than those, which concern the probable consequences of such specimens of genius and art, as, while they testify the talent of their respective professors, evince, at the same time, their solicitude, to be found on the side of piety, subordination, and moral improvement. A poem, a picture, or a statue, may be the centre of a deadly contagion, or the medium of incalculable benefit.

In our estimate of the moral influence of paintings in particular, we only recognize a quality admitted by heathens themselves. Aristotle could blame the exhibition of obscene pictures, from a sense of their inflammatory tendency; while Pericles sought to excite his countrymen to deeds of heroism by ordering public buildings to be adorned with representations of martial achievement. The appeal made by the pencil to the heart is instantaneous, and the impression vivid. What feelings of compassion have not been awakened by a scene of distress executed by the hand of an able professor? What sentiments of devotion have not been kindled by the well-wrought altar-piece? What passions have not been stimulated by images of agreeable vices presented in an engaging manner on the walls of the saloon and drawing-room? It requires considerable acquaintance with the works of the first masters to attain a tolerable perception of their various excellencies. The flippancy of connoisseurship may discourse on the boldness of expression in the Florentine—the grace and beauty of the Roman—the liveliness of the Venetian—the harmony and design of the Lombard—the vigour and effect of the Flemish—the truth and humour of the Dutch—the dignity and correctness of the English school; but the process is slow by which we arrive at just discrimination and able criticism. On the contrary every man that has an eye can understand the story told by the painter, and is susceptible of instruction or corruption, according to the good or bad use made by the artist of his imitative faculty.*

With these impressions of the social importance of the pictorial department of art, we cannot but watch its progress among our countrymen with a suitable degree of concern. Connected with this progress is the demand for information

* We are aware that a cotemporary critic has asserted, that, "as to conveying moral, religious, or political instruction in pictures, it is the most absurd of all absurd notions." *Edinburgh Review*, Aug. 1810. *Life of Barry*. Such exaggeration must proceed from warmth of argument, or misapprehension of the degree of influence intended. There is an ambiguity in the term *instruction*. A painting may not be didactic; but its impression on the spectator may be, in a moral point of view, very salutary or very pernicious.

relative to the Caracci, the Corregios, and the Raffaelles of former days. Writers of various powers have come forward to supply that demand, and memoirs of artists have been a fruitful branch of authorship. In accordance with the philosophical taste of the age in matters of biography, they have enlarged on the materials found in the publications of Bellori, Vasari, &c. ; and instead of giving a bare narration of the life and death of the individual, with a list of his works, aspiring to no higher praise than an extended epitaph, or an auction catalogue, have gone into the history of his time, and taken into account the circumstances under which he flourished. It is evident, however, that this mode of writing requires a good stock of information on the part of the author, a certain tact in selecting such parts of cotemporary history as fairly bear upon his subject, and a prescribed limit in obtruding his own observations, opinions, or criticisms upon the public. In fact, judgment, impartiality, and taste, are indispensable requisites to the production of such a work.

We are constrained, however, to remark that those requisites have not always been found in those who have undertaken this task. The readers of the *British Review* have had a specimen of this incompetency pointed out to their notice by the writer of a critique on Mrs. Graham's *Life of Poussin*. (Sept. 1821.) It was pronounced of that memoir, that, "as a literary composition, it is below mediocrity; and as a criticism on the works of Poussin, superficial and injudicious." The modest pretension of Mrs. Graham made the reviewer regret his seeming discourtesy; but we shall feel in great measure relieved from that sensation in the present instance, from the general tone assumed by the fair biographer. She is already known to the public by her "*France*" and "*Italy*." The democratical spirit of her political opinions; her kindred feeling with those, "who are not afraid to speak evil of dignities;" no mean sense of her own powers as a travelled critic; considerable licence in the arts of embellishment and exaggeration; an affectation of philosophical scepticism; and an evident freedom from such an old-fashioned encumbrance as prudery; are also, we believe, among the known characteristics of her productions. We shall endeavour however to divest ourselves of prejudice against her Ladyship, and to consider the present publication as standing or falling by its own merits.

She opens her preface with the following avowal of zeal for her subject:

"Should it be deemed worthy of inquiry, why I had selected the life of Salvator Rosa as a subject of biographical memoir, in preference

to that of any other illustrious painter in the Italian schools, I answer; that I was influenced in my preference more by the peculiar character of the man, than the extraordinary merits of the artist. For, admiring the works of the great Neapolitan master, with an enthusiasm unknown perhaps to the sobriety of professed *virtu*, I estimated still more highly the qualities of the Italian patriot, who, stepping boldly in advance of a degraded age, stood in the foreground of his times, like one of his own spirited and graceful figures, when all around him was timid mannerism and grovelling subserviency!

"Struck, as I had always been, with the philosophical tone and poetical conception of Salvator's greater pictures, even to the feeling of a degree of personal interest in favour of their creator, I took the opportunity of my residence in Italy to make some verbal inquiries as to the private character and story of a man, whose powerful intellect and deep feeling, no less than his wild and gloomy imagination, came forth even in his most petulant sketches and careless designs." (Preface, iii. iv.)

Her ladyship's readers will understand from this declaration, that, superadded to the pleasure with which she has been accustomed to regard the works of this extraordinary man, she was delighted to find him a brother-radical of the seventeenth century: and perhaps some of them may account for the term '*creator*,' which she is pleased to bestow on the artist, from her "degree of personal interest in his favour." This interest is indeed so strong as almost to identify Sydney Morgan with Salvator Rosa. She speaks of "*herself* and *her* Salvator"—"*me* and *my* Salvator," with all the intimacy of patron and client, of champion and protégé. But it must first be shewn, that the circumstances, in which the spirited painter and the patriotic authoress have respectively found themselves, are analogous, before we can duly estimate the strength of this sympathetic emotion. Her ladyship may flatter herself with a presumed resemblance between the feelings that glow in her own bosom, and those connected with the haughty carriage and indignant bearing of the independent artist; but others will not so readily perceive the similarity, between the blue-stocking who vents her spleen in travels and romances against the kings and priests of her day, and the mighty genius who spurned the tyranny and bigotry of an unenlightened clime and superstitious age.

The authoress was not very successful in gaining new matter for her work. The information obtained, in addition to those documents which already existed, was "in truth but scanty." She attributes this defect in great measure to the jealousy entertained towards such a man as Salvator by Italian governments, whose writers would naturally pass over that portion of his character and conduct which was opposed

to their principles and habits. This is by no means an improbable supposition. We know, in fact, that this is the general fault of Italian history. The consequence has been, that his admiring biographer felt at a loss, precisely in those parts of the record, in which she was persuaded her hero would have shone, had there been a supply of material for her purpose. In such a case, she has resorted to an expedient, obvious enough in itself, but of a very questionable character, exaggerating the evils which he had to oppose, and then enlarging on any modicum of opposition which might happen to present itself, or in default thereof, fancying, how he must have thought, what he would have said, and how he must have acted; which inventions are of course always favourable to her hero, and conceived rather in the style of the ingenious and diffuse novel-writer, than the chaste and severe memorialist. The principle of identity is indeed so well sustained in the narrative, from beginning to end, that in every situation the writer seems to know, by what motives Salvator was actuated, what objects he looked at, and what ideas came into his brain; a mode of authorship, which better serves the end of producing two goodly octavos, than of carrying conviction to the mind of the reader.

The first chapter traces "the influential causes of the progress and perfection of the Art of Painting, during the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Sixteenth Centuries." It is, of course, introductory, and is written in better style than many parts of the work, which is generally verbose, affected, and declamatory; and therefore it is the more to be regretted, that the writer could not suffer it to pass, without taking the earliest opportunity of exhibiting that liberal turn of sentiment, as we suppose *she* would call it, but which *we* should rather designate a morbid jacobinical feeling, whose irritation has long since subsided in most minds, in which it was wont to be excited by passing events and circumstances.

"Painting (which, in the progress of civilization, precedes music, as being less abstracted in its principles, and more tangible in its effects) was, even as early as the thirteenth century, adopted by the church as a means of riveting her power, by bringing over the senses to her interest. Its effects were magical; it personified the essence which thought could not reach; it depicted the mystery which reason could not explain; it revealed the beatitudes of Heaven and the punishments of hell, in imagery which struck upon the dullest apprehensions and intimidated the hardest conscience; and the Madonnas of Cimabue and the Saints of Giotto were found to be no less influential in their calling, than the counsels of the assembled church and

the Bulls of the Lateran. Eyes, which shed no tears over the recited sufferings of the Saviour, wept gratefully over the pictured agonies of a self-sacrificed mediator; and stubborn knees, unused to bend in mental devotion, dropped involuntarily before shrines where a fair young mother and her blooming offspring, a virgin parent and an infant god, awakened religious adoration through human sympathies.

The doctrines of a mystic creed thus enforced through palpable forms addressed to the affections, powerfully assisted to awaken faith through feeling; for that which is felt, it is difficult to doubt, and that which satisfies the senses, is vainly distrusted by the understanding." (V. I. pp. 4—6.)

Though we cannot approve the Voltaire-like spirit of this passage, it contains some painful historical truths. Popery patronized painting, and painting repaid the boon with interest. Alas! the beautiful muse became a harlot, and prostituted her charms to the "man of sin." Of what horrible perversion was she not guilty? She even dared frequently, as much to the injury of good taste as correct feeling, to represent the "Almighty Father" as a venerable patriarch!!! She depicted not only "the doctrines of a mystic creed," but gave form and figure to a thousand lying vanities; and made up any deficiency which might be predicated of the tale of a miracle, or the legend of a vision, by the boldness with which she portrayed the leading circumstances. What was her general tendency in a corrupt age, but to *carnalize* religion, and bring her down from her exalted sphere to be a creature of earth? And this was, to increase that debasement of apprehension in the lower orders, to which they were already so lamentably prone; for Christian pastors continually experience the difficulty, in conversing with the poor of their flock, of leading their minds to pious abstractions on the sublimer mysteries. With respect, too, to those parts of biblical history which the popish artists truly represented, we fear that for one votary in whom their pictures "assisted to awaken faith through feeling," there were multitudes who mistook feeling for faith, and sentiment for piety.

Lady Morgan then adverts to the "Influence of the Reformation on the Art and its Professors."

"In the progress of society new combinations effected new results. The Clements, the Giulios, the Leos, the Leonardos, the Raphaels, and the Michael Angelos,—with the glorious republics of Italy, whose free institutions had tended so powerfully to the developement of genius,—all vanished from the scene; and towards the close of the sixteenth century new interests and new wants arose, which occasioned new adaptations of human ingenuity. The Reformation came,—the greatest event of modern times. It was the policy of the new religion to carry on her system by a stern rejection of all the meretri-

cious means by which the old church had effected her scheme of usurpation. She wanted no pictures, and patronized no artists. Equally bent upon supremacy as her great predecessor, she called in new aids to accomplish her ends; she affected to engage reason on her side, and to found faith on proof. But more bent on her object, than considerate of her means, she discarded too little or too much; and did not foresee that reason, usurping the territory it was called in to defend, would eventually throw light on the retained abuses, as it had upon those rejected. In discarding the arts, and preserving the tithes, the reformed church at once loosened her strongest hold on the imagination, and armed the more calculating passions against her." (V. I. pp. 10—13.)

This paragraph bears internal evidence of being composed with sufficient self complacency. We shall only stop to observe that Protestantism does not "*affect* to engage reason on her side, and to found faith on proof;" but that she requires assent to doctrines above reason, but not contrary to it, and by sound argument proves the Scriptures to be divine, in which these doctrines are found. As to the curious antithesis of her "discarding the arts and preserving the tithes," among "the retained abuses," we can only say, that we are not much surprised at such a sentiment from the fair biographer, who is so obliging as to inform us, in another part of her work, that

"all priests are in ambition Jesuits, whatever title they take, or sect they profess." (V. I. p. 51.);

and who thinks proper to indulge in such language as the following.

"In the pleasurable retreat of the powerful Cardinal Borghese of that day, every thing spoke the 'pomp and circumstance' which the frankly voluptuous sons of the church gloried in displaying with rival splendour. There was nothing of that unsocial self-centred enjoyment, of that sly, sullen, and sober sensuality," (what a fine alliteration!) "which mark the private and indolent life of *the prelates of a more modern sect*, and add the vices of simulation and selfishness to the sumptuous frailties of the demi-gods of the conclave. With them external magnificence was coupled with personal enjoyment. Their habits and tastes were still in some coincidence with the arts, and forwarded the developement of the national genius; and if their cooks and gardeners were inferior to those of their reformed brethren in our own days, their porticoes and galleries exhibit to posterity far nobler monuments of taste and liberality, than those which future generations may discover in *the snug eating parlours of the old diocesan palaces of another, but an equally wealthy, hierarchy.*" (V. II. pp. 100, 101.)

Leaving their Lordships the bishops to the mortification of ranking inferior to Cardinal Borghese, in the estimation of

Lady Morgan, we return to the passage on the Reformation, from whence we digressed, to which is appended a note to this effect :

“ Among the votes passed in the Parliament of 1636, were two sufficiently singular, exceeding even the persecution of the arts by the first Protestant Reformers. ‘ Ordered : That all such pictures there (in the royal collection) as shall have the representation of the second person in the Trinity on them, shall be forthwith burnt ; that all such pictures as have the representation of the Virgin Mary upon them, shall be forthwith burnt.’ The pictures without any superstition upon them were sold for the benefit of the poor Irish. See Journal of the House of Commons.

“ This destruction of pictures during the first heat of the Revolution, was in some measure political as well as religious ; being a counterblow to that taste for the fine arts, which Charles had endeavoured to render national, to the neglect of better things. Luther, the least rigid of all reformers, retaining some of the old taste of the Augustan (Augustine) monk, struggled against a barbarous and indiscriminate attack on the arts. On the idolatrous subject of pictures he dared not interfere, (though vastly fond of multiplying his own portrait, and that of his ‘ very ugly wife,’) but he stickled hard for a little music in his church. Being himself a composer, and the best singer in the choir at Erfurt, he confessed that he ‘ prized music above all sciences except theology ;’ and even went so far as to compose his catechism in verse that he might set it to music. The famous confession of Augsburg was actually *done* into a metrical ballad. Calvin, however, who had ‘ no music in his soul,’ waged war on all the arts, and declared even playing on the organ ‘ a foolish vanity.’ (Note, V. I. pp. 11, 12.)

We are no more disposed than our authoress, to admire the proceedings of the Puritans, in the republican barbarity alluded to ; and we think with her that the measure is not to be laid altogether to the score of religion. We would also observe that it has been too much the fashion with a certain class of writers, from Horace Walpole to Lady Morgan, to complain of the injury which the pictorial art is supposed to have sustained from the Reformation. The changes produced by that event in the different states of Europe, with the commercial advantages which followed in their train, giving new direction to the powers of the human mind, and diverting money into fresh channels, or throwing influence into a greater number of hands, undoubtedly lessened that munificent patronage, which princes and cardinals bestowed on those artists who furnished pieces for their oratories and galleries. But after a time, Painting bore testimony to the intellectual energy and liberality which had been so generally diffused ; and if she could not produce individual specimens to be placed by

the side of the labours of Raphael or Michael Angelo, she made a great moral atonement in the improved character of her designs. We beg, moreover, to add, that there is nothing in enlightened piety which militates against the cultivation of the fine arts. The man of genius, in other things being equal, is at least as susceptible of religious sublimity as his more plodding neighbour. But vital Christianity will subordinate the love of art, as it does every other affection, to the love of God and man; and sanctify, by a sense of responsibility, the talents bestowed by the Creator. As to the insinuations against Luther and Calvin, they are only fresh proofs of the flippancy of the libeller.

Speaking of the "degraded epoch" of the art in the beginning of the seventeenth century, Lady Morgan mourns over those illustrious names, who submitted to paint portraits of "*hatchet-faced* kings and *flaxen-wigged* queens." We have heard of "hook-nosed Cæsars and wry-necked Alexanders;" but we were not aware before of these indications of royal dignity. She pours forth her indignation, however, in a note, on royal vanity, and remarks:

"Charles the First's melancholy visage is to be seen in every collection in Europe, from the numberless portraits which filled his own gallery, the contents of which were so dispersed. He made Rembrandt paint him as St. George; and Vandyke and others painted him under the form of every other saint in the calendar." (V. I. p. 17.)

The former of these sentences is any thing but creditable to her Ladyship's feeling, and the latter to her accuracy. The portraits of this sovereign were indeed numerous, but not more so than was necessary to meet the desires of those who knew how to feel a respectful sympathy for his sufferings, and may be presumed to regard his "melancholy visage" with emotions somewhat different to those of the biographer of Salvator Rosa. We shall now dismiss this introductory chapter, and proceed to the body of the work.

In the second chapter we have some account of the political and social state of Italy, and more particularly of Naples, in the seventeenth century: a poetical description of the city and bay, and of a little village called Borgo di Renella, in which lived Vito Antonio Rosa, architect and land-surveyor, with his good wife Giulia Grecca, and two young daughters. They were poor but contented, and their happiness was increased at the latter end of the year 1615, by the birth of a son. Concerning this son, the father hoped, for the sake of the child, that he would not be an artist, but above all, not a painter; while his mother, "a devotee of the true Neapolitan cust," prevailed with her husband that he should be brought

up to the church. The boy used to wander about among the woods and rocks, catching elementary inspiration, when he ought to have been at his task, for which he was "chided as a truant, and punished as an idler." When locked up, he sketched the leading features of the surrounding scenery on the walls of the prison, to the utter amazement of his mother and sisters, and some unpleasant foreboding in the mind of his father. The luckless wight was doomed to do penance for his irregularities by attendance on matins, mass, and vespers, at the neighbouring church of the monastery of Certosa during the whole of Lent.

"It happened that he one day brought with him *by mistake* his bundle of burned sticks, instead of his mother's brazen-clasped missal; and in passing along the magnificent cloisters, sacred alike to religion and the arts, he applied them between the interstices of its Doric columns to the only unoccupied spaces on the pictured walls, which gold and ultramarine had not yet covered over.

"What was the subject which occupied on this occasion his rude pencil, history has not detailed; but he was bringing to his work all the ardour which in another age went to his 'Saul' or 'Democritus,' when unfortunately the prior, issuing with his train from the choir, caught the hapless painter in the very act of scrawling on those sacred walls, which it required all the influence of Spagnuoletto to get leave to ornament,—walls, whose very angles Annibal Caracci would have been proud to fill, and for whose decoration the great Lanfranco, and greater Dominichino, were actually contending with deadly rivalry and fatal emulation.

"The sacrilegious temerity of the boy-artist called for instant and exemplary punishment. Unluckily, too, for the little offender, this happened either in Advent or Lent, the season in which the rules of the rigid Chartreux oblige the prior and *procuratore* to flagellate all the *frati*, or lay-brothers, of the convent. They were therefore ready armed for their wonted pious discipline, when the miserable Salvatoriello fell in their way. Whether he was honoured by the consecrated hand of the prior, or writhed under the scourge of the *procuratore*, does not appear; but that he was chastised with a holy severity, more than proportioned to his crime, is attested by one of the most scrupulous of his biographers, who though he dwells lightly on the fact, as he does on others of more importance, confesses that from the monk's flagellation, '*assai percosse ne reperto*,' he suffered severely.

"A punishment so disproportioned, a persecution so intolerable, did their usual work; genius took its bent; and the burned sticks of Salvatoriello sketched the future destiny of Salvator Rosa, in lines never to be effaced. The complaints forwarded to the Casa Rosa from the Certosa, and the indignant, but impotent rage of the impetuous boy, whose temperament was even then, what he himself afterwards so eloquently described it, 'all bile, all spirit, all fire,' induced

his parents to place him beyond the reach of farther temptation, by obtaining his admission into some of the holy congregations, or monastic seminaries, then abounding in Naples. The whole influence and interest of the Rosa family was put in requisition to effect a consummation so desirable; and the exertions of the parents at last procured for the son the countenance and protection of the reverend fathers of the Collegio della Congregazione Samasca." (V. I. p. 51.)

We have then an account of the departure of the youth from the paternal hearth, and his arrival at the college, attended by his father, in such a style of graphic amplification, extending through several leaves, as we believe cannot easily be paralleled even in this age of book-making. It shows undoubtedly the vivid conception of the scene in the mind of the authoress, for the delineation is so minute and accurate that scarcely aught would be left to the invention of any artist who should sketch a drawing from her description; nor are some of her remarks devoid of talent and ingenuity, as bearing on the main subject of her work; but we really should be wanting in our duty, if we did not enter our protest against the license taken by her ladyship, in detailing an event at such length, which might have occupied a single page, without any disparagement of her judgment or good taste. It may be supposed that Salvator did not much relish the Aristotelian logic then in vogue, a fair object of her ladyship's satire, who seems glad to emancipate her hero from his academic shackles, and bring him home once more, to enjoy the charms of music and lyric composition, in both which at that early season he was no mean proficient. The first link in the chain of events which led to his eminence as a painter was the marriage of his elder sister with Francanzani of Naples, a distinguished pupil of the Spagnuololetto school, who saw with admiration the copies that his brother-in-law would sometime make of his pictures, and encouraged his rising genius.

His conduct soon discovered that independence, which marked him through life, both as a man and an artist. He would not confine himself to the instruction of any professor, or join the young men in that blind deference to their elders, which was rather calculated to make them mannerists than artists, but resolved to strike out a new course of study for himself, and learn lessons from nature herself in some of her wildest and most romantic scenes, wandering for this purpose in Apulia, Calabria, and the Abruzzi. Very little is known of this portion of his life, but her ladyship contrives to make a good deal of it, and cannot even describe the sublime aspects of the Apennines, without giving us a spice of her infidelity.

"There, almost within view of the bold and solitary student, hills

sunk to valleys, valleys swelled to hills,—rivers shifted their courses, and latent fires broke forth to scathe the vigorous vegetation which their own smothered ardours had produced. There amidst earthquakes and volcanic flames, in an atmosphere of lightning, and the perpetual crash of falling thunderbolts, may this Dante of painting have first taken in the elements of his famous Purgatorio! for from such phenomena, which in their destructive sweep and mystic reproductions regard not human interests, man first borrowed his faith of fear, his God of wrath! the unremitting torture of ages, and fires of *eternal punishment!* the purgatory of one church, and *the hell of all!*" (Vol. I. p. 108.)

It is by such dashes of the pen as this, that agents of scepticism most effectually diffuse the venom of their party. The young and inexperienced in reading such passages associate in idea the hell of Christians with the Tartarus of pagans; forgetting that the Spirit of Jehovah has declared by the mouth of one of his prophets, that "Tophet is ordained of old,"—and that the unerring lips of his Son has assured us, "there is a worm that never dies, and a fire that never can be quenched."

After spending some time with a horde of bandits in the mountainous region, he returns to Naples, and soon after, the death of his father leaving the family in indigent circumstances, he endeavours to provide for their necessities by a laudable exercise of his talents. There is something affecting in the following description of his situation.

"The prevailing usage of the Neapolitan school had been to give but a short time to the study of design, and to proceed, almost immediately after the acquirement of its first elements, to that stage of the art, which they called *a pittorare* or *washing-in*. There was in this hurried mode of proceeding, which Salvator acquired in his brother-in-law's work-shop, something analogous to his own bold, prompt, and rapid perceptions; and he had made such progress before his *giro* in Calabria, that he had already executed some landscapes on canvass. Such, however, was his poverty, at the moment which required all the advantages which the mechanism of the art could lend his genius, that he was unable to purchase the canvas to paint on, and was reduced to the necessity of executing his pictures upon that *primed* paper on which his boyish talents had first displayed themselves. Thus pressed, the young and obscure landscape-painter of Renella had no chance of appearing in the arena where the Spagnuolotto, the Lanfranco, the Domenichino, and their protected pupils, were disputing the prize of pre-eminence. In want and privation, and destitute of that tranquillity of mind so necessary to the concentration of genius on its subject, the only market open to him was the miserable bulk of one of those few *revenditori* who then, as now, held their stand for second-hand, damaged, and valueless goods in the Strada della Charità. Thither, after having worked in his desolate garret all the day, in view of penury and its concomitant discontent, the young

artist was wont to repair at night, and timidly hovering near the old *bottega* of his virtuoso Shylock, to seize some propitious moment for entering and drawing from beneath his thread-bare cloak one of those exquisite designs which have since contributed to his immortality. It is no stretch of the imagination to suppose him grouped with his shrewd chapman beneath the flame of a pendent lamp, such as still lights the similar shops of Naples, holding up one of his pictures for the old man's observation; his own fine face with his "African colouring," and passionate expression of impatient indignation, contrasting with the wizard look which escapes from under the Jew's large flapped, yellow hat, while he affectedly underrates a work, of which he well knows all the merit. At last the purchase is made and the miserable pittance is given; — that *scarcissimo prezzo*, which hardly sufficed to satisfy with a *vile morsel*, the famine of those who depended solely on Salvator's exertions, even for this scanty sustenance."

The Neapolitan school of painting was at this epoch a school of mannerists, and the faction of Spagnuoleto exercising a degree of tyranny under the auspices of the vice-regal government, Rosa continued unnoticed; till one of those *accidents* (as they are popularly termed) so observable in the lives of artists, and which (in language more assimilating to philosophic atheism than a recognized providence) are said to *give a turn to a man's fortunes*, threw a partial light on his obscurity, and gave some promise of a brighter day. The great Lanfranco having been invited from Rome by the Jesuits of Naples to embellish a new church, was passing one day in his carriage, and with the quick perception of a practised eye was caught by the appearance of a picture half-covered with dust, which hung on the outside of a common dealer's shop. It was Salvator's representation of Hagar and her child perishing for thirst. He was struck with "the tone of deep and powerful feeling, the gloomy and melancholy originality" which characterized this production, purchased it of the dealer, who could give him little account of the artist, and took it back with him to Rome. This was soon buzzed abroad, and had the effect of raising the prices of the pictures marked "*Salvatoriello*." It had the further effect of encouraging the youth himself to venture the exercise of his professional talent in Rome.

But to go to Rome, he must go by the *Appian way*; and because he could not afford a carriage, he was forced to travel *on foot*. This was too striking a coincidence with what once happened to Horace, not to tempt our authoress to point out the resemblance; and he entered the city in much the same plight as Tasso once entered it before him, *videlicet*, bearing on his own person his whole wardrobe and stock in trade, and therefore he was not only like Horace, but Tasso too. It is in

much better taste that her ladyship notices the contrast which her hero formed to another great man, who arrived at Rome about the same time.

"Shortly afterwards Milton arrived in Rome, under very different circumstances. He was received by the learned and the noble, '*with the greatest humanity.*' Sonnets and distichs in his honour poured forth from the Roman muse; and Cardinal Barberini came forward to the door of his apartment to receive him, as princes only are received." (Vol. I. p. 175.)

While Rosa was in this capital he witnessed the opposition between the Flemish and Italian schools, which is well described by our authoress, as also the characteristic independence with which he kept aloof from both; and while improving his taste by paying due attention to the works of Raffaele, Titian, and M. Angelo, he was free to censure what he deemed erroneous in the productions of those distinguished masters. He not only amused himself with composing epigrams and satires on the Italian conceit or Flemish revelry of his brother artists, but also expressed his disapprobation, if he saw occasion, of the productions of the greatest geniuses. Thus, in the celebrated piece of the *Last Judgment*, he thought the conception defective in sublimity and chastity.

"My Michael Angelo, I do not jest,
Thy pencil a great judgment has expressed;
But in that judgment, thou, alas, hast shown
But very little judgment of thine own!"

Lady Morgan has also translated a cantata which he wrote on his own poverty and want of patronage at this time, and which Dr. Burney called "a gloomy and grumbling history of this painter's life, in which the comic exaggeration is not unpleasant," with so much humour and spirit, that we should have been tempted to transcribe it, had it not been too long for our pages, though we must have objected to the manner in which the name of the Deity is introduced in one of the lines.

He was at length recommended to Cardinal Brancaccia by two of his countrymen in the household of that ecclesiastic, who persuaded him to join the train of his eminence on his visit to Viterbo, of which he had been recently made Bishop. He yielded to their intreaty, chiefly because he had no asylum but the Cardinal's palace. Her ladyship cannot mention this simple fact, without speaking of the "terrible consciousness of not having '*where to lay his head.*'" How much is it to be lamented, that she cannot tell her story without such offensive allusions! The cavalcade is described with such graphic accuracy, that we seem to behold each figure as dis-

tinctly, as if we were looking at the well-known picture of the procession from Chaucer's *Canterbury Tale*, and it might furnish Wilkie with an admirable design. After painting the Loggia of the episcopal palace, and executing an altar-piece for the Chiesa della Morte, Salvator returned to Naples, wearied as it should seem with his dependent situation. Upon occasion of a public exhibition of paintings at Rome, he boldly produced his astonishing Prometheus, the reception of which was so encouraging, that he determined to revisit that capital. He was disappointed in an endeavour to obtain entrance into the academy of St. Luke, then an indispensable distinction even for the first artists, but his finances became so much improved, that he was soon enabled to take a house, and cultivate the acquaintance of a small but intelligent circle. The versatility of his talents now displayed itself. At the carnival of 1639, he attracted notice in a different capacity. In a cart or stage, drawn by oxen, and occupied by a masked troop, as in an early period of the histrionic art, he appeared as a certain Signor Formica, a Neapolitan actor, who in the character of Coviello, a sort of charlatan, was privileged to exercise the freest sallies of his wit and humour; when having delighted the populace both as musician and mountebank, he took off his vizor, and discovered the painter of the Prometheus. He next gained great applause both as actor and improvisatore, and rivalling the popularity of Bernini, met with some illiberal treatment, under which he behaved with such prudence and dignity, as served in the end to exalt him in the opinion of the public.

After an interesting account of Claude Lorraine, and Gaspar Poussin, the authoress brings forward her hero with considerable effect as opposed to these two great masters.

"Nature, in her tranquil beauty, always appears the benefactress of man, not his destroyer; the source of his joys, not the tomb of his hopes, and the scourge of his brief existence; and such she appeared in the works of the two powerful genuises who presided over landscape-painting, when Salvator Rosa came forth upon that arena, which they had hitherto exclusively occupied, and dispelled the splendid but 'unreal mockery' of elements always genial, and nature always undisturbed. His magic pencil threw all into life and motion and fearful activity. * * * The least of his landscapes were pregnant with moral interest, and calculated to awaken human sympathies. His deep and gloomy forests, whose impervious shade is relieved by the silver bark of the shattered oak that forms the foreground, is only given as the shelter of the formidable bandit, whose bold and careless figure, strangely armed and wildly habited, fixes the eye beyond all the merits of the scenic representation. The long line of stony pathway cut through masses of impending rock, is but the defile in which the gallant cava-

lier, bent on some generous enterprise, is overtaken by the pitiless outlaw—or, by the rush of storms, which seem to threaten destruction at every step his frightened steed advances. The way-worn traveller, the benighted pilgrim, the shipwrecked mariner, introduced as accessories into the main scene, become images that engage the heart as well as the eye, and give to the inanimate character of landscape a moral action and an historical interest." (Vol. I. Pp. 297—300.)

Rosa was disgusted at the musical taste which then prevailed, and at the morals of its professors.

"While the music of the Church was gradually assuming an effeminate character, the palaces of the great were filled with the most worthless of the profession, of both sexes. The genius which went to the composition of the finest music, was then, as now, less prized and rewarded than the voice which executed it; and the profligacy of the public singers in Italy was no impediment to their reception into the first families of the country. Upon this shameless laxity of manners, and the visible degradation of ecclesiastical music, Salvator fell with a puritan's severity, scarcely surpassed by the anathemas of Calvin, or the vituperations of Erasmus. He attacked the style of singing in the pontifical chapel.

Oh shameless! thus to hear an hireling band,
In holy temples raise a voice profane—
Mount sacred rostrums with *sol fa* in hand,
And hymn their God in bacchanalian strain;
A mass or vespers bray, bark hallelujahs,
And roar their pater-nosters and their glorias.

Where sinful eyes should drop their penance tear,
Where sinful hearts should woo returning grace,
The dilettante penitent, all ear,
Seeks faults in tenors, beauties in a bass;
While thrills or falls discordant shriek or howl
Lulls or distracts the vacillating soul.

Each sacred sanctuary now is seen,
Like some rude temple of the god of wine,
A Noah's ark, where many a beast unclean
Profanes the altar, and defiles the shrine;
While in loose train the Miserere's given,
And wafts the soul upon a jig to heaven!" (p. 321—323.)

Notwithstanding this virtuous feeling, Salvator, it appears, was guilty of certain transgressions of the moral law, which a fashionable world may call gallantries, venial frailties of youth, &c.; but which the page of inspiration denounces by an appropriate term, and as disqualifying for the kingdom of heaven. And here we must take leave to express our disapprobation of the apologetic tone in which the biographer has been pleased to notice this part of her hero's conduct. We forbear any quotation, except indeed a few lines which

serve as a hint to those who are not sufficiently aware of the influence of example in exalted station.

"While Innocent X. consigned the keys of St. Peter to the keeping of *Donna Olympia*, it gave but little offence to public morals that Salvator consigned his to the fair hands of a beautiful Florentine girl, whom this connexion has rendered celebrated by the name of *La Signora a Lucrezia*!" (Vol. II. p.70.)

It is due however to the memory of the artist to say that he afterwards married his mistress, of which fact we are thus informed.

"The conduct of Salvator in this instance, even with reference to the age and country in which he lived, was sufficiently indefensible (as violating the best interests and institutions of society) to satisfy the malice of his enemies, and to grieve the hearts of his friends. But his blameable frailty was exaggerated by the calumny of party-spirit, into heartless and systematic profligacy; and the darkest error of his life, which he sought to redeem by all the means of reparation in his power, was made the basis of misrepresentations equally foreign to his taste and character, and in direct contradiction to all that his contemporary biographers have left on record, both of his life and death. The party, however, which fell upon his reputation and his memory, with all the pertinacious acrimony of a modern English Vice-Society, had not one word of reproof to direct against the Royal Harems of Whitehall and Versailles; and still less for the *Principesse del Vaticano*, as the favorite ladies of Innocent X. were openly denominated in Rome." (Vol. II. Pp.75,76.)

This is in the true Morgan manner. Her ladyship disapproves of this Vice-society, and therefore she assumes that it is acrimonious, and withal pertinacious in its acrimony, and thus affords an apt illustration of the malevolent and partial persecution of "her Salvator." A little before she had been speaking of the oppressive dealing of the Court of Spain towards its vice-royalty of Naples, and noticing the errors of its policy, on which she takes occasion to observe,

"It has ever been the crime, or the folly, of governments, to apply their remedies to what is accidental in great public commotions; and, in their apprehension of the sudden development of physical force which accompanies them, to overlook the deeper moral causes which have prepared their explosion. Regarding public abuses as private (or in the modern phrase, as *vested*) rights, and secretly determined to uphold them at all costs, their object is ever to suppress, and not to remove, popular discontents."

To which the following note is appended :

"In no country has this policy been more perversely and perseveringly pursued than in Ireland. The open purchase by the Government of the *rights* of the aristocracy, in their rotten boroughs, as of a private property, which took place at the Union, shews to demonstra-

tion the *object*, and the whole history of Ireland declares the *means*, of its proconsular *regime*." (Vol. I. p. 391.)

Now, the abstract questions of the expediency of a Vice-society, or the merits of the policy of Great Britain in the purchase of Irish rotten boroughs, have no conceivable connection with the life of Salvator Rosa, and we must protest against the literary unfairness and impertinence, which can so easily convert biographical narrative into a vehicle of political sentiment.

In the account given of the closing scene in the life of this extraordinary artist, we are informed that a settled melancholy took possession of him in the prospect of his dissolution.

"The kind and shallow Baldovini (a Florentine priest) saw nothing in the melancholy of Salvator, but the fear of purgatory, or the apprehension of more permanent sufferings, and he consoled him, or endeavoured to do so, by assuring him that the devil had no power, even in hell, over those who had been baptized by the holy name of Salvator! 'While I spoke thus,' (says the good Padre) 'Salvator smiled.'

"In this death-bed smile, (the last, perhaps, ever given by Salvator to human absurdity,) there is something singularly characteristic and affecting. For this depression of spirit, the Padre Passeri saw another cause, more influential than even the terrors of purgatory. It was Salvator's connexion with Lucrezia—a singular delicacy of conscience in an Italian of the seventeenth century! But the two clerical friends of Salvator did not overlook their calling in their friendship; nor forget that if the conscience of the dying did not calumniate their lives, there would be nothing left for the church's intercession; and that its influence and revenues would rapidly decrease together.

"It is asserted by all the biographers of Salvator, that he did not marry Lucrezia until his last illness. But what is most singular in the event is, that the church itself stood opposed to the reparation he was anxious (though late) to make, to one who appears to have been blameless in every respect, save in her connexion with him; and he was obliged to have recourse to some influential persons, to obtain a licence from the Vicario to make that woman a wife, whom he had been so long permitted to retain as his mistress in the midst of his numerous ecclesiastical friends." (Vol. II. Pp. 197—199.)

He departed on the evening of the 15th of March, 1673; and one cannot but regret, that a man, who was disgusted at much of the hypocrisy and superstition of the day, should have wanted one, who in his last hours could have directed him, in the sublime simplicity of the gospel, to that Lamb of God who taketh away the sins of the world!

In common with all who admire excellence in every department of art, we have felt too much interest in viewing the productions of this great master, not to welcome any attempt at a delineation of his life and character. We will do Lady

Morgan the justice to say, that she has been indefatigable in collecting materials, both principal and supplementary; that she has introduced some entertaining episodic subjects, particularly the account of the Neapolitan insurrection under Massaniello, (which is a good addition to the old narrative by Midon,) and the sketch of the Italian drama, (which is an improvement on what has already been said in the "Curiosities of Literature," and the "Edinburgh Review, April, 1823,") that she has, in some cases, defended her hero from the misrepresentation of writers, who looked with a jealous eye on one regarded by the church as little better than a heretic; and that she has given some leaves to the laurel which before invested his brows, by shewing his claim to the title of a poet and musician, as well as a painter. But here our commendation must cease. To the faults of verbiage, affected style, and overcharged description we have already alluded. These however are of minor consideration. It is to her religious and political sentiments that we hold ourselves in duty bound to object. These are such as will rarely find advocates among any except those, whose Christianity is so like Deism, and whose 'liberty' so like licentiousness, that they are almost convertible terms. We are the more sensible on these points, because we cannot forget the mischief produced on the continent, before the French revolution, by the insidious manner in which the fountains of literature were poisoned, and which prepared a large portion of the reading population, flattering themselves on the fancied possession of "*l'esprit philosophique*," to play their part in that tremendous tragedy. This remark particularly applies to historical and biographical productions. Not that we fear the same for England. She has had too instructive a lesson read to her, not to stand on her guard against all, who would lay unhallowed hands on the ark of her venerable institutions. But it is that sneering tone assumed by certain writers, whenever the grand peculiarities of the Christian faith cross their path, and that sarcastic illiberality with which eminence of station and sanctity of character is sure to be treated by them, that we denounce. It requires no great ability to shine in these accomplishments, but they are pregnant with much evil to the susceptible and inexperienced; as what is easily impressed may be with considerable difficulty effaced; and the mischievous gambols of an idiot may easily overturn, where both strength and skill would be required to reinstate.

ART. XVI.—*Journal of a ten month's Residence in New Zealand*: by Richard A. Cruise, Esq. Major in the 84th Regt. Foot. 2d Edition. London: Longman and Co. 1824. 8vo. Pp.vi. and 327.

THE extent to which British commerce stretches its arms, has at length reached its utmost point. The islands of New Zealand are nearly our antipodes; and further than this we cannot go in pursuit of gain. Even this distant coast however is now constantly visited by our merchant-vessels in search of whale-oil; and the work now before us records a transaction which government has had with that remote people, in procuring from them a supply of masts for the largest ships of the navy; while it has become known, that a superior sort of flax, the *phormium tenax*, is indigenous there, which, if cultivated for commercial purposes, would readily find its way to the markets of Europe.

Major Cruise's expedition to New Zealand was made in the Dromedary, a convict-ship, proceeding under orders from Government to New South Wales; which service accomplished;

‘the Dromedary was directed to proceed to New Zealand, there to endeavour to get a cargo of those very large trees or spars, known to grow in that country.’ (Pp. 1, 2.)

The coast was explored for this purpose on the eastern and western sides of the northern extremity of the northern island; and after much deliberation and uncertainty the very same spot was fixed upon for procuring the spars, where ten years before the crew of the Boyd was massacred by the natives. On this occasion the inhabitants were very friendly, and gave no obstruction to the object of the Dromedary, though they rendered no assistance to it. The individual chief indeed was present upon the spot, and received the stipulated payment of an axe for each tree in an amicable manner, though he had sometimes been dreadfully agitated by the apprehension, that the English would take vengeance upon them for their past enormity.

In the progress of their intercourse with the New Zealanders, the crew of the Dromedary met with great difficulties from the eagerness of the natives to barter for gunpowder and muskets, with which articles the whalers kept them constantly supplied, while the strictness of the government regulations precluded the Dromedary from following their bad example. Yet although the conduct of the Dromedary was

calculated in this respect to give the natives a high sense of British honour in submitting to great inconveniences rather than pursue a forbidden traffic, we are sorry to say, that in another it left them at liberty to form as low a notion as they would of British morality. The admission of women to reside in the ship during its continuance in port was as free from restriction as has been usual in his majesty's service, and that too in spite of an appalling observation, which we subjoin.

"The extensive intercourse that takes place between the crews of European shipping and the native women, compared with the very limited offspring of this connection found in the island, afforded reason to presume that infanticide exists here to a considerable extent. We saw but two individuals of this cast during our stay at New Zealand, and heard of but two others; of those we saw, one was an infant, the son of a seaman of a whale ship; and the other was a grown-up girl, about sixteen years old, the daughter of a person residing in New South Wales. They were both fair; and the latter, though brought up in common with the savages, was quite English in her appearance, except that she was much sun-burnt. She was a pretty girl, and at that time lived on board a whale ship.

"Illicit intercourse has brought among some of the females of the island that disease which is carried by Europeans to whatever part of the world they go; and some truly melancholy cases of its fatal ravages occurred in the Bay of Islands while the Dromedary lay there.

"To us the women denied the crime of infanticide as far as related to their connection with Europeans, of which they declared that the consequences were prevented by causing premature birth. Taking into consideration the fact that all former ships remained but a short time at the island, this is not improbable; but as many native females left the Dromedary in a very advanced state of their pregnancy, the curious will be led to enquire whether the children be still living, and if they are, it is to be hoped the humane will be induced to take steps to ameliorate their condition." (Pp. 273—275.)

Indeed it is most melancholy to consider that the intercourse with Europeans should have a corrupting influence upon nations, already sufficiently degraded by superstition and ignorance. But, while no restraint is imposed on the illicit commerce of seamen with native females, and while the ferocity of the chiefs is stimulated by an abundant supply of muskets and powder, it is but hypocrisy to express a wish for the civilization of the New Zealanders, which our own dealings with them tend so directly to obstruct. Of the effect of this latter obstacle to their improvement, some judgment may be formed from the following statements.

"The imputed superiority of the tribes of the Bay of Islands and those adjacent, on account of the quantity of fire-arms in their possession, by overawing the rest of the inhabitants, has made them the terror and the scourge of New Zealand. Every summer they fit out a

predatory expedition: they are perpetually the aggressors, but at home they are never attacked." (P. 280.)

"It is quite impossible to imagine any thing more miserable and squalid than the appearance of the people of Wy-yow; and it turned out, upon enquiry, that they were the unfortunate tribes that the more powerful and better armed inhabitants of the Bay of Islands, came down annually to plunder; while, through a family connexion with Krokro, their more fortunate neighbours on the western shore of the river were spared from similar devastations." (Pp. 208, 209.)

"Their arms are intrinsically bad, the fire-locks being of the very worst description, brought out by the whalers merely for barter; and from their want of knowledge how to take care of them, and the dampness of their houses, they soon find them unservicable, and though anxious in the extreme to get gunpowder, they seldom care about bullets, substituting stones in their place. Unskilfully, however, as they use the musket, such is the general dread of its effects, that the strength of a tribe is not now calculated so much by its numbers, as by the quantity of fire-locks it can bring into action. When Poro entered George's district, the terrified people described the invader as having twelve muskets; and the name of Krokro, who is known to have fifty stand of arms, is heard with terror 200 miles from the Bay of Islands." (P. 282.)

It is no wonder that a weapon so formidable in any hand, should be extremely coveted. Of the value set upon it, the next extract affords a remarkable proof.

"The pigs, as yet the only animals imported and left among them by different persons who have visited the island, have increased very much; but they bear no proportion to the demand made for them by the whale ships. The avidity of these islanders to obtain fire-arms overcomes all kind of prudence; and twenty hogs, perhaps the only ones possessed by the tribe, have been given for a musket not worth ten shillings." (Pp. 285, 286.)

Although, however, the actual civilization of the New Zealanders is scarcely capable of being advanced under such circumstances, unless it be, as in the instance of the Society islands, through the medium of Christianity, there are not wanting some indications of an improvement in the native mind, fitting it for the maintenance of those relations, which extended commerce would require. The following testimony to the good conduct of the New Zealanders, on the western coast, who were admitted on board the Dromedary, ought not to be forgotten.

"Though the deck was, in general, so lumbered with them that it was quite impossible they could be looked after, not an individual belonging to the vessel lost the most trifling article during our stay in this part of the island." (P. 217.)

Again, more generally—

"It is worthy of observation, that though many of the New Zea-

landers, when they come on board our ships make no scruple of thieving, if they see the probability of avoiding detection; still, when the European goes among them, and commits himself and his property to their protection, he may place implicit confidence in their honesty and honour." (P. 21.)

The fact, which we shall next mention, may be regarded, as an auspicious omen.

"The taro plant, which has been imported from Otaheite, is cultivated by a few natives with much success." (P. 271.)

To the intelligence communicated by Captain Cook, concerning their sentiments and customs, little of importance seems to have since been added, every subsequent communication with them having rather confirmed than extended his account of them. We will, therefore, only extract one or two particulars from the work before us, which may be considered, from the direct evidence on which they are founded, to add something to our previous knowledge of this remarkable people.

"In the management of the axe the islanders are remarkably expert. The most material assistance they gave us was, in felling the enormous trees that composed the cargo; nor was there a European in the ship who could rival them in this most laborious occupation." (P. 287.)

We are unable to reconcile the statements in the two extracts which follow—

"Their appetites are immense; and all their food is cooked in one and the same manner, namely, in hot stoves covered over with leaves and earth, so as to form a kind of oven; and, certainly, their vegetables and cockles are particularly good when dressed in this way. They were very fond of our biscuit; and though it was literally so full of vermin that none of us could eat it, the tribes in the neighbourhood of the ship very eagerly bartered for it their potatoe and the other esculent plants introduced into the island by Captain Cook." (P. 271.)

"From their temperate mode of living, flesh-wounds of every description were very soon healed. We once observed a man, who, accidentally, inflicted a severe cut upon his leg with an axe; he immediately squeezed the juice of a potatoe into the wound, and tied it up, and in a few days it was quite well." (P. 293.)

Whatever may be the cause of this readiness in healing, the foregoing extract does not say much more for their temperance than it does for their cleanliness.

Of their sagacity several instances are adduced.

"To the New Zealanders, whose organs of sight and hearing are so acute, the approach of a stranger is early known." (P. 247.)

"The natives, on seeing us get into the boat, with much anxiety endeavoured to dissuade us from making any effort to regain the

Dromedary at that time, saying there was much wind and much sea : but, as the place where we embarked was quite land-locked, we had little reason to suppose the weather was so very bad ; however, upon opening the heads of the bay, we saw the extent of our imprudence,—it blew a gale of wind, the sea was so heavy that the little boat was in danger of filling every moment, and the only resource left was to make the nearest beach, which was effected with some danger.” (Pp. 147, 148.)

The worst feature, however, in their character, or rather the most shocking habit, which has been ascribed to them, is cannibalism. This imputation it has lately been attempted, but very unsuccessfully, to deny. At least, if by cannibalism be merely meant anthropophagy or a propensity under any circumstances to feed on human flesh, it is established on evidence, which cannot reasonably be disputed, the acknowledgement of the natives themselves. Even if the direct testimony of Captain Cook were forgotten, who saw the fact with his own eyes on board his own vessel ; what can be replied to such distinct declarations, as those, which were repeatedly made to the author ?

“ They too often expressed their predilection for human flesh. The limbs only of a man are eatable, while, with the exception of the head, the whole body of a female or a child is considered delicious.

“ Besides the crew of the *Boyd*, other Europeans have from time to time fallen victims to their ferocity : but they describe the flesh of a white man as tough and unpalatable, when compared to that of their own countrymen ; and they attribute its inferiority to our universal practice of using salt to our food.” (Pp. 271, 272.)

There is no reason indeed to imagine, that they ever destroy a human being for the mere purpose of gratifying this brutal appetite. But that they make a feast upon the bodies of their enemies, slain in war, is undeniable ; and there is the most credible evidence also, that even slaves, who are enemies, slain in war, but spared from immediate slaughter, and who afterwards hold their lives on that most precarious tenure, the caprice of their master, are sometimes on the slightest provocation, not only killed, but devoured.

This however is a most cogent motive, with every humane mind, for affording to these dark habitations of cruelty the light of Christian truth. That the mission, which has existed there during the last ten years, though it has produced but few converts, has not been without a beneficial influence upon the character of the natives, may be inferred from this single consideration, that the part of New Zealand, which has been selected by the whalers for the seat of their commerce with the natives, is precisely that in which the mis-

sionaries reside. They know nothing of the southern island. They carry on no intercourse with the southern half of the northern, while yet the Bay of Islands, where the missionaries are settled, swarms with them. The natives, though they have not parted with their savage propensities, have felt the value of European society, and learned to exercise forbearance and self-restraint, that they may enjoy the benefit of it: and although the influence of this example is extending itself, and a sense of the advantages it entails, even to the borders of the river called the Thames, yet the sentiment itself is likely to be most felt, and the habits it requires to be best formed, where the presence of Europeans would keep it constantly in mind. Nor will the simple fact pass unregarded, that during ten years a small party of English missionaries have lived constantly amidst a nation of cannibals in security, and have in few instances sustained any serious injury even to their property. The fate of the Boyd, marks what was the hazard with which the shores were approached, at an earlier period; and yet even that act of barbarity was not unprovoked. It was a measure of retaliation, and has probably read a lesson of some value to many of the navigators who have visited them since. But it is surely an advancement of some moment, and one, in the production of which the constant residence of Europeans upon the spot cannot have been of little weight, "that great outrages have been since committed upon them by the masters and crews of ships, which have passed without retaliation." (P. 302.)

"This forbearance, (says Major Cruise, in concluding his volume,) may be attributed to their being now convinced of the bad policy and of the danger of insulting a people, who, from the number of ships which they send to their coast, must inspire them with an idea of greatly superior power. It has been a doctrine always inculcated to them, that though the massacre of the crew of the Boyd went unrevenged, another aggression made upon the white people would be followed by the most summary punishment; and as long as they are impressed with a notion (as they were by the numerical strength of the Dromedary,) that there is a force capable of punishing an outrage, it is but reasonable to conclude, from what we experienced in our own persons, that the European may go in perfect safety among them; may trust himself and his property to their honour; and, by a moderate share of conciliation and liberality on his part, may ensure to himself an ample return on their's." (Pp. 302, 303.)

We are only desirous to add to these judicious observations, what we think is due to those individuals, who have given in their own persons the proof, with what safety the New Zealander may be trusted by those who have committed

themselves to his protection. On this subject an anecdote may be cited from the pages before us.

"During the first visit of our people to Shuketanga, one of the gentlemen attracted the particular notice of Mowhenna; and a short time before we left the island, the gentleman walked over from Wangarooma, merely accompanied by a native guide, to see and take leave of the chief. Mowhenna received him with every possible mark of courtesy and respect; and having placed him sitting beside him, the chief's brother stood up, and harangued the people at considerable length upon the advantage they must derive from a friendly intercourse with the Europeans. During this speech, he observed one of the natives with a spear in his hand, and desiring him to give it up, he broke it across his knee, and observed that as the white man had come among them alone and unarmed, not a weapon should appear in his presence while he remained a guest." (P. 296.)

"To the hut of the New Zealander, and to his humble fare, the white man was ever welcome; and, as a guest, his property was secured from violation." (P. 151.)

It is true, that the Major observes, in another place, concerning the treatment of the missionaries.

"The natives, knowing too well that the missionaries are in their power, commit extensive depredations upon them, not unfrequently aggravating their extortions by acts of gross insult; indeed we always found the tribe among whom our countrymen lived, more troublesome than those whom we met with elsewhere." (Pp. 54, 55.)

But the explanation of this fact soon follows.

"The most murderous weapons have been disseminated among them; and, arrogant at being better armed than their neighbours, their insolence is not confined to their countrymen, but often extends to the missionaries themselves, and to the Europeans that occasionally land among them." (P. 55.)

It seems, then, that the traffic in muskets has undone much of the good effect, which the residence of Europeans might otherwise have effected, and has subjected the missionaries to an insolence of treatment, though not (we have reason to believe) to the extent here stated, which they would not otherwise have experienced.

We cannot help anticipating with hope, and even with confidence, the future conversion of this generous though savage people, to that faith, to which, however slow some may be to acknowledge it, we are indebted for all our superiority. We owe to the New Zealander a faithful communication of the principles of our holy religion, in consideration of the vices which we have encouraged among them by our barter, and propagated by our immoralities. We owe it to them, in consideration of that vicinity, which we have enabled them to claim to us, by our colonies in New South

Wales and Van Dieman's land. But above all, we owe it to that God, who has given us the means, and has made responsibility the universal concomitant of power. And, while we see, that their coasts and their soil are alike capable of furnishing us with productions, which may attract the spirit of commercial adventure; we have the greatest cause to make some sacrifices, even for the sake of those merchants themselves, our fellow countrymen and fellow Christians, to impart to these deluded slaves of degenerated nature, a participation in the blessings of that saving faith, which will make them in the best sense our brethren. Civilization will then make the most rapid strides, when it has been introduced by the knowledge and by the example of Christianity.

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